

K. Philalethes.



The Right Reverend
BISHOP. ATTERBURY.

MEMOIRS
 OF THE ^{108e}
₃
 LIFE,
 AND
 CONDUCT,
 OF
 Dr. Francis Atterbury,
 Late Bishop of Rochester,
 FROM
 His Birth, to his Banishment.

Address'd,
 To the Rt. Hon. WILLIAM PULTENEY, Esq;

*Ille erat unus timendus ex omnibus, sed tam diu, dum
 mœnibus urbis continebatur. Omnia norat : omni-
 um aditus tenebat : appellare, tentare, sollicitare
 poterat, audebat : erat ei Concilium ad Facinus ap-
 tum : concilio autem neque Lingua, neque manus de-
 erat. Hunc ego Hominem tam acrem, tam paratum,
 tam audacem; tam callidum, tam in Scelere vigilan-
 tem, nisi ex domesticis Insidiis compulissem; non fa-
 cile hunc tantam molem mali a cervicibus vestris de-
 pulissem.*
 Tull. in Cat. Orat. 3.

LONDON: Printed in the Year, M.DCC.XXIII.
 (Price Two Shillings.)

By J. Stackhouse.

3





T O

The Right Honourable
William Pulteney, Esq;

Chair-man of the C O M-
MITTEE of the Honourable House
of Commons, &c.

S I R,



Should think it my Duty to
own my Obligations to the
Committee's great Care in
digesting the Papers that
concern'd the late Bishop of *Rochester*,
and for their judicious Observations
upon them, which have done me
much Service in the following *Me-*
moirs ; but that the Voice of the *Par-*
liament is the Voice of us *All*, and each
private Acknowledgment is concen-

A 2

ter'd

ter'd in the *publick* Thanks of the Nation.

To bring to Light Designs of a black and destructive Nature, cover'd with Obscurity, and carry'd on in *such Disguises, as the most artificial Dexterity could contrive* *: To draw the Conspirator from his lurking Place, even, tho' fled, to hide himself, *to the Horns of the Altar* ; and to set him out, *discover'd and amaz'd*, to the View and Detestation of Mankind, was a Work more peculiarly deserving your great Skill and Penetration, your Accuracy and consummate Judgment, as it had a good Aspect upon the publick Justice, and tended to satisfy Mens Minds both in the Reality of his Guilt, and the Condignity of his Punishment.

What I have done in these Papers, is with a Design subservient to that End. I thought, that to give some Account of a Man, who had made Noise enough here, and was likely to

* See the *Lord Chancellor's Thanks to the Committee of the House of Lords.*

Dedication.

V.

to make Figure enough Abroad, might not only be some Entertainment to the Curious, but that, to consider him likewise in his several Capacities; to remark his Learning and other Abilities; to trace the Springs and hidden Motives of his Actions; and to disclose the Temper and predominant Passions of his Mind, might be of collateral Use, and some assisting Evidence to the Truth of the Allegations in the Bill against him.

'Tis a melancholy Consideration, Sir, that publick Justice should need any Pen or Apology to support it, or the Complaints in a *Speech*, wherein a Man is suppos'd, even at the Expence of Conscience, to make the best of a bad Cause, should be of more Efficacy to raise uneasy Murmurs, than the united Voice of the Legislature to appease them. *O conditionem miseram, non modo administrandæ, verum etiam conservandæ Reipublicæ*, we may justly say, when we see People thus repining at their Preservation, and grown Sick, and displeas'd

pleas'd with their Escape from Danger!

There is a remarkable Instance of this Murmuring and discontented Spirit among the Jews in the 16th Chap. of *Numbers*. There was a Confederacy, it seems, in the Camp, among the *Heads* of some Tribes, and a Design (as in modern Terms we call it) to subvert the Constitution both in Church and State: God was pleas'd, however, to interpose visibly in the Defence of the Government, and made *the Earth open her Mouth and swallow up the principal Conspirators*. This was a Judgment of such a terrible Aspect, as was enough, one would think, to frighten the most rebellious into Silence and Submission; and yet, the Persons, who were present at this miraculous Conviction of Guilt; who heard the Cries of their Companions *as they went alive into the Pit*; and who fled from their Tents, *lest the Earth should swallow them up also*: These very Persons, I say, the very next Day, came taunting and *murmuring against Moses, and against*

Dedication. vii

against Aaron, saying, ye have kill'd the People of the Lord.

The most dangerous Conspiracy that we meet with in the Roman History is that of *Catiline*, a Man every Way qualify'd for such a desperate Enterprize, and yet, when the Consul, so renown'd for his vigilant Conservation of the Common-weal, had discover'd and defeated his Designs, and, by the mere Force of his Eloquence, driven him out of the City ; he was blam'd by the Party, as one that had banish'd an innocent Man *, and invented a Plot for his own Purposes and private Revenge: He was upbraided, too, with the Meanness of his Family †, and told of an arrogant Assump-

* *At etiam sunt, qui dicunt a me in Exilium ejectum esse Catilinam, quod ego si verbo assequi possem, istos ipsos ejicerem, qui hæc loquuntur. Tull. in Cat. Orat. 2.*

† There is something very remarkable in what the Historian tells us of this *Catiline's* Speech and Behaviour in the Senate-House. *Catilina, ut erat paratus ad dissimulanda omnia, demisso vultu, voce Supplici, postulare a Patribus, ne quid de se temere crederent: ea familia ortum, ita ab adolescentia vitam instituisse, ut omnia bona in Spe haberet: ne existimarent, sibi patri-*
cio

Assumption of Power, that did not belong to a Person of his Obscurity.

We have an Instance in our own Chronicles, Sir, not unparrallel to what is now before us. In the unhappy Reign of *Rich. 2.*, the Duke of *Gloucester*, a turbulent Malecontent, together with the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, the Abbot of *St. Albans*, and several great Men of his Party, had conspir'd to seize the Person of the King, and the chief of his *Ministry*, with a Purpose to murder *All*, except the King (for the Consciences of some of them, it seems, would not allow them to go so far.) The Conspiracy was discover'd, by one of the Confederates, to the King: The King, upon calling a Parliament, laid the whole Matter before the Commons: The Commons, at the Bar of the House of Lords, impeach'd the Duke of *Gloucester*,

cio Homini, cujus ipsius, atque ~~M~~ *eorum plurima Beneficia in plebem Romanam essent, perditâ Republ. Opus esse; cum eam servaret M. Tullius inquilinus Civis urbis Romæ. Vid. Sal. Bell. Cat. p. 25.*

cester, the Earls of *Arundel* and *Warwick*, with several others, of High Treason: They were afterwards all attainted, but the Archbishop, out of Respect to the Sanctity of his Character, was only banish'd, and his Goods confiscated.

Never was there a fuller Discovery, or a more equitable Prosecution of any Conspiracy than this; and yet, the Clamours and Invectives of the Party, upon this Occasion, undiscourag'd, and conniv'd at too long, assisted the Contrivances of that vile incendiary the Archbishop so far, as to facilitate, first, a foreign Invasion, and then a dolorous Disposition of that unfortunate Prince.

'Tis no Wonder, indeed, that such opprobrious Cavils and Insinuations should be current among us; but 'tis a Pity, and may prove fatal, if they should abate the Zeal, or cramp the Sinews of any Man's Administration for the publick Good. The great *Roman* Minister, that I was just speaking

†

ing

ing of, made another Use of Peoples Murmurings against him, viz. the Obligation, that his Advancement in the State laid upon him, to be more solicitous for its Preservation, more negligent of the Peoples Envy, and more courageous in the Execution of Justice against Guilt*.

Be there all the Popularity then that we please in such moving Strains as these? “ You have stripp’d me of my
 “ Substance, my Preferments, my Functi-
 “ on, my Office, and then sent me where
 “ I cannot subsist; you have sent me
 “ among Strangers without a Tongue,
 “ without Feet, without Money, and
 “ then hinder’d others, even my very
 “ Children, as well as Friends, from
 “ performing Humanity to me †: And all
 “ this

* *Præclarum vero populo Romano refert Gratiam, qui te, Hominem per te Cognitum, nulla commendatione Majorum, tam mature ad summum imperium, per omnes Honorum Gradus, extulit; si propter Invidiam, aut alicujus Periculi Metum, Salutem Civium tuorum Negligis.* Tull. in Cat. Orat. I.

† See the Bishop’s Speech, p. 26, 27.

Dedication.

xi

“ *this, after a long and close Confinement,*
 “ *when harrass’d with ill Usage, decrepid*
 “ *with old Age, and worn out with Sick-*
 “ *ness ;*” Yet, we may fairly ask the
 Question, Were these Things any
 Let or Impediment to him, in the
 gay Time of his guilty Contrivances?
 Was bodily Infirmities, or domestick
 Sorrow, the Sense of his Children, or
 the Endearments of Friends ; nay,
 Was our Religion, our Laws, our
 Liberties, our Lives, all to be ha-
 zarded in *One* bold Attempt, any Bar
 to his Correspondences, or any Re-
 straint upon his Criminal Consultati-
 ons? *Olim istuc, olim, cum ita animum*
induxti tuum, quod cuperes, aliquo pacto
Efficiendum tibi. † He should have
 thought on this, when he set before
 him all the miserable Consequences
 of a Civil War, and, for the Gratifi-
 cation of his dear Ambition, embrac’d
 them *All* ; when he saw before his

† 2
Eyes

† Ter. Andria. Act. 5. Sc. 3.

Eyes the promiscuous Destruction of Friend and Foe, the Conflagration of Cities, the Devastation of Countries; Rapine, Rage, and Ruine, and all the Dissolution of Fire and Sword; and yet espous'd to himself the Guilt and Danger of being a *Principal* therein. He then relinquish'd his Friends; he then forfeited his Country, and devolv'd the Issues of his own Crime upon his Posterity: When he first engag'd in that desperate Cause; and will he now complain of hard Usage, when *he only eats the bitter Fruit of his own Ways, and is fill'd with his own Devices?*

*Fuit, fuit ista quondam in hac Republicæ virtus, ut viri fortes acrioribus Suppliciis Civem perniciosum, quam acerbissimum hostem, coercerent.** That Right, which every Government has to preserve and defend itself, that Piety, which every one owes to his Coun-

* Tull. in Cat. Crat. i.

Dedication. xiii

Country, and Loyalty to his King, makes it Cruelty to spare, not to punish, where Designs are so destructive. 'Tis an Abuse of the Word, and a wrong Notion we have of Lenity, when we apply it to the Fomenters of Rebellion. That Master of a Family, says Cicero, † who would suffer a Servant to murder his Wife and Children, to set Fire to his House, and strike at his own Life with Impunity, is not meek and merciful, but cruel and inhuman to the last Degree: And to Persons, who have this, and much more in their Projection, Severity is

Com-

† *Etenim quero, si quis pater familias, liberis suis a servo interfectis, uxore occisa, incensa Domo, supplicium de Servo non quam acerbissimum sum. Srit, utrum is clemens ac misericors, an inhumanus & crudelissimus esse videatur? mihi vero importunus, ac ferreus, qui non dolere ac Cruciatu nocentis, suum Dolorem Cruciatumque tenerit. Sic nos, in his Hominibus, qui nos, qui Coniuges, qui Liberos nostros, trucidare voluerunt; qui singulas unicuiusque nostram Domos, & hoc universum Reipub. Domicilium delere conati sunt, si vehementissimi fuerimus, misericordes habebimur, si remissiores esse voluerimus, summæ nobis Crudelitatis in Patriæ Civinumque pernice, fama Subeunda est. Tull. in Cat. Orat. 4.*

Compassion to our Country, and where 'tis due ; and *Lenity*, a *Mercilessness* of the worst Denomination.

It was Prudence in our Governours, therefore, when they were resolv'd to put an effectual Stop to all traitorous Negotiations for the future, to shew an Instance of exemplary Justice upon *One*, who had merited their utmost Indignation, and yet set their Authority at Defiance ; *One*, who had triff'd with Oaths himself, and, by his Practice, taught others to *make a Mock* at Perjury ; had wounded Religion, profan'd his Holy Office, and brought an odious Imputation upon the whole Order, by his frequent Prevarications ; to shew an exemplary Justice upon him, I say, *that others which remain might hear and fear, and thenceforth commit no more such evil amongst us.* Deut. 9. 20.

His

His Preferments and Honours, were the Pensions and Donations of the Crown, and it was but right to re-assume them, when the *one* was in Danger of being converted to the Enemy's Use, and *the other*, had been lost and forfeited by Disloyalty. His Heart and Affections were gone from hence, and plac'd on the other *Master*; and 'twas giving him his Wish, rather than inflicting Penalties upon him, to send him, not among *Strangers*, as he complains, but to his *own Company and Confederates*. *

I am figuring to myself, Sir, the Joy and Solemnity of that Day, when he shall come to meet his *old Friends* and *Fellow-Sufferers*, as they call them, those *Splendid Exiles*, and *Romantick Heroes*, that have barter'd Happiness for a Name, and sold their Country for Poverty and Rags, O, *qui Complexus, & gaudia quanta!* With what

* *Ut non ejectus ad alienos, sed invitatus ad suos esse videatur. Orat. I.*

what Pleasure will their *Mock - King*,
 and his *Starv'd Minions* listen to their
Prelate's Eloquence, and even for a
 while forget their Hunger and griping
 Wants, while he recounts the Situ-
 ation of Affairs here, and magnifies,
 in his Manner, the Number of his
 Friends, and Justness of his Cause:
 I am fancying, I say, (when he
 comes to his own Story) with what
 Bitterness of Speech he will inveigh
 against the Vigilance of a *Ministry*,
 that no Conspiracy, tho' never so
 cunningly manag'd, can escape; with
 what Indignity he will treat the
Justice of Parliaments, which no *Cha-*
rafter or *Consideration* could pervert;
 and with what seeming Derision
 mention the KING's most *Sacred*
Name, tho' he inwardly dreads, and
 trembles at the Sound.

So spake th' Apostate Angel, tho' in Pain,
*Vaunting aloud, but rack'd with deep Despair.**

But

* Milton.

But to return: The State of the whole Matter was certainly this--- That there was a Disease got into the very Vitals of the Kingdom, which was to be expell'd; That the Government had been pester'd with Plots and Insurrections too long, to have any farther Patience; That something was to be done by Way of Prevention, and to extinguish the Pretender's Hopes for ever; That Conspiracies were of too dangerous a Nature to be dally'd with, and not punish'd with Severity when found out*; That the Bishop, on many Accounts, was become a fit Object of such Severity; His Punishment might be of Use to give others Warning; and a probable Means to allay the Factions, and recover the Peace and Tranquillity of the Nation.

*

These

* *Cetera Maleficia cum persequere, ubi facta sunt: Hoc, nisi provideris, ne accidat, ubi evenit, frustra iudicia implores. Capta urbe, nihil sit reliqui victis.*
Orat. Catonis in Sal. Bell. Cat. p. 45.

xviii *Dedication.*

These were the Sentiments of the Legislature. And after all, Where are the mighty Penalties that so deeply affect him? I know of none, except it is, his being remov'd from an Opportunity of incurring more Guilt, and of procuring more Mischief to himself, as well as his Fellow-Subjects. He has a fine and plentiful Country before him, if he can but be contented, and Liberty to settle in it, where he pleases: He has an Opportunity of repairing his Health, by the Change of Air, and the Use of such Medicinal Waters, as are proper in his Case: He has an Intercourse, *even here*, granted him by a *Privy-Seal*, and the Comfort of seeing or hearing from his Children indulg'd him: He has had Money enough, more from private Benefactions, than his Preferments wou'd ever amount to; and, (what some wou'd count a valuable Thing, and many make bold to assume, without any legal Imposition,

Dedication. **XIX**

position) a total Vacation from the Cares and Fatigues of his Function, for Life. So that, with a small Variation, he may justly say, *It is well for me that I have been afflicted, for indigent came I into the Tower, but Opu-
lent shall I go out: My Friends gave more, than the Parliament took away; therefore, blessed be the Name of my Friends.* *

This, Sir, in my Opinion, is the Whole of the Severity against him; but such, as have more frightful Notions of it, have nothing else to do, but to look on him, and learn to be good Subjects.

I am, SIR,

Your most Humble,

Most Devoted Servant,

PHILALETHES.

* Alluding to the Close of his Speech.

Dedication.

(position) a total liberation from the
corer and language of his function, for
life. So that, with a small Vain-
tion, he may justify it, it is well for
me that I have been called for it.
I have been called into the world, but I
have been called out; my friends are
not from the East, but from the
West, and I am called to the
East.

It is my opinion, that
the Government of the
United States, as they have more
than one of the same kind of
policy, but at the same time to be

—

I am, Sir,

Yours very truly,

Wm. Lloyd Garrison.

PHILADELPHIA.

* Printed at the Office of the Liberator.



THE
CONTENTS.

	Page
T HE Introduction	I
Dr. Atterbury's Birth, Parentage, and Education; and himself	4

I. Consider'd as a Scholar.

His great Skill in Poetry	4
In Controversial Writing	7
An Account of the Controversy between Boyle and Bentley	8
Of the Convocation-Controversy between him and Dr. Wake	II
Of the Controversy between him and Mr. Hoadley.	
His Character as a Controvertist	26

II. Dr.

The CONTENTS.

II. Dr. A. consider'd as a Preacher.

<i>The Qualifications of a good Preacher set down</i>	27
<i>His Accomplishments herein</i>	28
<i>Some Passages extracted out of his Sermons to illustrate his Art in commending Princes</i>	3, & 42
<i>A fine Character of King William and Queen Anne</i>	32
<i>His Art in Cautioning Princes</i>	33
<i>In perswading to Virtue</i>	34
<i>In convincing Gainsayers</i>	36
<i>In recommending Publick Benefactions</i>	38
<i>In moving the Passions and Affections</i>	41
<i>In reproving Publick Vices</i>	43
<i>His Elegant Latin Stile, and</i>	45
<i>Fine Address in Complimenting</i>	46
<i>Dr. Smalridge's Character and Commendation of him and his Works</i>	48
<i>The Time and probable Occasion of his several Promotions in the Church</i>	50

III. Dr. A. consider'd in his Private Capacity.

<i>His Domestick Circumstances and Happiness therein</i>	53
<i>The prevailing Passion of his Temper, Pride,</i>	54
<i>Dean Young's Charact. of a proud Man</i>	Ib.
<i>The</i>	

The CONTENTS.

<i>The Dispute between Bishop Nicholson and Him, when Dean of Carlisle</i>	55
<i>— with the Canons of Christ-Church, Oxon, when Dean.</i>	62
<i>His Character and private Life</i>	63
IV. <i>Dr. A. consider'd in his Publ. Capacity.</i>	
<i>An Account of his Political Principles, at his first setting out into the World</i>	65
<i>How he came to change them</i>	68
<i>The Treasurer and Secretaries Conduct at the latter End of Q. Anne's Reign</i>	68
<i>How he came to join them</i>	69
<i>Late Bp. of London's despicable Charact.</i>	70
<i>Party's Behaviour at the Queen's Death</i>	72
<i>Their joining the Pretender, when disappointed here, by Way of Refuge</i>	74
<i>The Rebellion breaking out, and Dr. A's Refusal to sign the Bp's. Declar. against it</i>	76
<i>The Rebellion suppress'd by the D. of Argyll in Scotland, and the Lord Carpenter in England, and the State of the Nation thereupon</i>	78
<i>The Use and Design of Protesting in the House of Lords, and what Share Dr. A. had therein</i>	80
<i>The Nature & Design of the late Conspir.</i>	83
<i>An Account of Dr. A's Apprehension and Behaviour</i>	86
<i>His Commitment and Usage in the Tower</i>	88
<i>The various Speculations hereupon</i>	90
<i>The Rep^t. of the H. of Commons, and their Ob-</i>	Ob-

The CONTENTS.

<i>Observations upon 3 intercepted Letters, charg'd against him</i>	93
<i>The Arguments for, and against, proceeding by Way of Bill</i>	96
<i>The Preamble of the Bill against Dr. A.</i>	101
<i>His Prayer to the Lords, for Advice what to do in this Juncture</i>	102
<i>His Refusal to appear in the H. of Com.</i>	103
<i>His Appeal to the Lords against some Vio- lences offer'd him by Col. Williamfon</i>	104
<i>The Penalties of the Bill, as it pass'd a- gainst him in the House of Commons</i>	105
<i>His appearing at the Bar of the House of Lords</i>	107
<i>The Temper and Behaviour of the Mob up- on this Occasion</i>	109
<i>His Defence at the Bar</i>	110
<i>An Analysis of his Speech, and</i>	111
<i>Some solemn Protestations in the Conclusion of it</i>	117
<i>The Replication of the King's Counsel, and some Observations upon Mr. Reeve and Mr. Wearg's Speeches</i>	120
<i>Upon the Bp. of Salisbury's Speech</i>	125
<i>The passing of the Bill against him</i>	127
<i>— Manner of his departing the Kingdom</i>	129
<i>The CONCLUSION</i>	130

MEMOIRS

ERRATA. Pag. 77. l. 8. for *qui Escam*, r. *quiescam*. p. 100.
l. 6. r. if us'd, with Temper and Moderation. p. 130. l. 18.
instead of, Finally, to conclude: Now, r. CONCLUSION.
And now, my Friends, that the Bishop is gone, &c. p. 131. l. 4.
r. Idigacy. p. 133. l. 4. *dele the first and.*



MEMOIRS

OF THE

LIFE,

WRITINGS, and CONDUCT

OF

Dr. Francis Atterbury,

Late Bishop of Rochester.



THE Case of *Dr. Francis Atterbury*, late Bishop of *Rochester*, has been so long the Subject of a Parliamentary Consideration, and has occasion'd such various Speculations and

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diffe-

different Resentments in Mankind; that the Publication of some true and authentick Memoirs, relating to so remarkable a Man, cannot but be an Entertainment of some Curiosity: And to consider him thro' all the Stages of Life, both in his publick and private Capacities, as a Man of great Wit and Intrigue, both as a *Divine* and *Politician*, a *Scholar* and *Senator*, a *Peer* and *Prelate* of this Nation, may possibly be a Means to settle our Judgments, both with Regard to his real Merit, and the Righteousness of the Law that has pass'd against him.

IN what Manner a Subject of this Nature is to be handled, the Wisdom of the Government has happily set us an Example, by ordering him to be treated with the Respect suitable to his Character, during his Confinement in the Tower; by guarding him against the Insults and Outrages of the People, when he was brought to the Senate-House at any Time; and by granting him some Favours and Indulgencies peculiar, when he came to make his Defence at the Bar: And if this Treatment was then thought his Due, when Mens Passions were up, and Resentments run high against him, it can hardly, after such an Interval of Time, be deem'd any dangerous Civility, I hope, to take a Review of his past Conduct in such a just and impartial Manner, as, to pay to his Character, what is strictly its Due, without

out deducting any Thing from it, but what he himself has thought fit to forego.

He is now gone and dead, as it were, to us, and it were cruel and inhuman to insult over his Fall, or injure his Memory; he has satisfy'd the Severity of the Law, and when the Law is satisfy'd, the Government is appeas'd, and every Fellow-Subject is allow'd to pity and compassionate the Sufferer. I must be excus'd therefore, if, in the following Sheets, I represent Things nakedly as I find them, without any severe Invectives against the Miserable. I make myself indifferent in the Question, and am, indeed, pre-determin'd in no Particular, unless it be in this, to set the Parts and Abilities of this Gentleman in such a Light, as may recommend him to other Countries; may endear him to Men of all Religions and Persuasions, and gain him a welcome Reception wheresoever he goes.

His Notions were a little singular, and his Temper of Mind somewhat too warm for this cold and torpid Climate; they may possibly thrive better, and meet with more Encouragement, when some Degrees nearer the Sun: And it will be a great Pleasure to me, as well as some Commendation to this Work, to hear that our Loss of him has prov'd his Gain; that his Banishment is turn'd into Preferment, and that any Thing I was capable of Writing contribu-

ted to his Advancement Abroad. And in Confidence of this good News, I proceed now to give the World such an Account of him, and of his Transactions, both publick and private, as I have, with some Labour, been able to compile. I think myself, however, no farther concern'd to enter into the minute Particulars of his Life, than to acquaint my Reader that he was the Son of the Reverend Dr. *Atterbury*, Rector of *Milton* near *Newport-Pagnel* in *Buckingham-Shire*. He was educated at the Royal Grammer-School of *Westminster*, and from thence elected to *Church-College* in *Oxford*, where he was soon distinguish'd for his fine Wit, and polite Erudition, and gave the publick a remarkable Instance of the Excellency of his Poetic Vein, in an admirable *Latin* Version of Mr. *Dryden's Absalom and Achitophel*. A Specimen of which will, I hope, be acceptable, and the more so, because this Piece is only to be met with in the Closets of the Curious.

*In pious Times, e'er Priest-craft did begin,
Before Poligamy was made a Sin;
When Man on Many multiply'd his Kind,
E'er One to One was, cursedly, confin'd:
When Nature prompted, and no Law deny'd
Promiscuous Use of Concubine and Bride;*

Then,

*Then, Israel's Monarch, after Heaven's own Heart,
 His vigorous Warmth did variously impart
 To Wives and Slaves: And wide as his Command,
 Scatter'd his Maker's Image through the Land.
 Michal, of Royal Blood, the Crown did wear;
 A Soil ungrateful to the Tiller's Care:
 Not so the rest; for several Mothers bore
 To God-like David, several Sons before.
 But, since like Slaves his Bed they did ascend,
 No true Succession could their Seed attend.
 Of all the numerous Progeny was none
 So Beautiful, so Brave as Absalom:
 Whether, inspir'd by some diviner Lust,
 His Father got him with a greater Gust;
 Or that his conscious Destiny made Way,
 By Manly Beauty to Imperial Sway.
 Early in foreign Fields he won Renown,
 With Kings and States Ally'd to Israel's Crown:
 In Peace the Thoughts of War he cou'd remove,
 And seem'd as he were only born for Love.*

Latine Redditum.

*Cognovère pias nondum pia secula fraudes
 Arte Sacerdotum, nondum vetuere maritos*

Multiplici

Multipli celebrare jago connubia leges;
 Cum Vir *sponsarum* numeraverat agmen, & uni
 Non fervire toro, fato adversante, coactus
 Plurima fertilibus produxit stemmata lumbis;
 Cum stimulos Natura daret, nec legibus ullis
 Et sponsæ & lenæ vetitum est *commune* cubile;
 Tunc *Israelis*, cælo cedente, Monarcha
 Concubitu vario vernas, nuptasque fovebat:
 Quaque erat Imperij limes, ibi messe feraci
Transcripta Archetypi *sparsim* generatur imago.
 Ornavit Regale caput Diadema *Michalis*;
 Cultori ingratum, vel quod sterilescerat, arvom:
 Non aliud par hujus erat; nam plurima mater
 Jam pridem multos utero fatis ubere natos
Jessidi peperit. Sed sacra cubilia vernæ
 Cum premerent, soboles *obliquo* tramite Sceptrum
 Arripuit, spurioque fuit de sanguine Princeps.
 Has inter stirpes eluxerat *Absolon*, ipsa
 Nec formâ inferior, cessit virtute nec ulli.
 An magè divino Pater inspiratus amore
 Ipsum progenuit *maiore libidinis æstro*
Præcoci ingenij, vel quod bene conscia fata
 Felicem dederint ad Sceptra *virilibus* anam
 Formæ ornamentis, & iter proclive parassent,

Huic *Fama* in campis sonuit *matura* remotis
 Inviſtumque Ducem agnorant ſocialia Regna :
 Pace minas oculis, animoque excuſſerat arma
 Quælibet, ut natus tantum *videatur* amor.

AN equal Elegance has he ſhewn, in his
 Engliſh Poetical Compoſitions, as will appear,
 in the juſt Epigrammatical Turn of thoſe
 Verſes which he wrote upon the Lady's
 white Fan, whom he afterwards made his
 Wife.

Flavia, the leaſt and ſlighteſt Toy,
Can with reſiſtleſs Art employ :
This FAN, in meaner Hands would prove
An Engine of ſmall Force in Love ;
Yet ſhe, with graceful Air and Mien,
Not to be told, or ſafely ſeen,
Directs its wanton Motion ſo,
That it wounds More, than Cupid's Bow ;
Gives Coolneſs to the matchleſs Dame,
To ev'ry other Breſt a Flame.

WHILE he continu'd in the Univerſity,
 there happen'd, upon a ſlight Occaſion, a
 very famous Controverſy of Wit and Learn-
 ing, wherein he is ſaid to have borne no in-
 conſiderable Part, tho' it was thought proper
 at

at that Time, to have the Honour of it devolv'd upon another. The Occasion of the Dispute, as I remember it, was this, The Honourable Mr. *Boyle*, now Lord *Orrery*, was a Student in *Christ Church*, and under the Tuition of Dr. *Atterbury*, when about the Year 1695, he oblig'd the World with a new Edition of *Phalaris's* Epistles; but complains in the Preface, of Dr. *Bentley*, the King's Library-keeper, upon the Account of a certain Copy, that might have assisted the Edition, had he not deny'd him the Inspection of it, *pro sua singulari Humanitate*. These Words so exasperated the Doctor, that he instantly thought upon Revenge, and finding a Passage in Sir *William Temple's* *Miscellanies*,* wherein he gives vast Commendation to *Æsop* and *Phalaris*, as *two Ancients*, that had excell'd, in their Way, all that ever was wrote by *Moderns*; he hereupon founds a

* It may be affirm'd, in Favour of the Ancients; That the Oldest Books we have, are still in their Kind the best. The two most Ancient that I know of in Prose, among those we call Profane Authors, are *Æsop's Fables*, and *Phalaris's Epistles*, both living near the same time, which was that of *Cyrus* and *Pythagoras*. As the First has been agreed, by all Ages since, for the greatest Master in his kind; and all others of that Sort have been but Imitations of his Original; so I think the Epistles of *Phalaris* to have more Race, more Spirit, more Force of Wit and Genius, than any others

a long Letter to his Friend Dr. Wotton, who had the State of *Ancient and Modern Learning* then under his Pen, telling him, that the Epistles, which went under *Phalaris's* Name, were not to be rank'd among Ancient Compositions †; that they were of much later

I have ever seen either Ancient or Modern. I know, several Learned Men (or that usually pass for such, under the Name of Criticks) have not esteemed them Genuine; and Politian, with some others, have attributed them to Lucian: But I think he must have little Skill in Painting, that cannot find out this to be his Original. Such Diversity of Passions, upon such Variety of Actions and Passages of Life and Government; such Freedom of Thought, such Boldness of Expression; such Bounty to his Friends, such Scorn of his Enemies; such Honour of Learned Men, such Esteem of Good; such Knowledge of Life, such Contempt of Death; with such Fierceness of Nature, and Cruelty of Revenge, could never be represented but by him that possessed them. And I esteem Lucian to have been no more capable of Writing, than of Acting what Phalaris did. In all One Writ, you find the Scholar or the Sophist; and in all the Other, the Tyrant and the Commander. Vide Sir William Temple's Essay upon Ancient and Modern Learning, Page 58.

† That some of the Oldest Books are the best in their kinds, the same Person having the double Glory of Invention and Perfection; is a Thing observed even by some of the Ancients. Dion. Chrysost. Orat. 33. p. 397. But then the Authors they gave this Honour to, are Homer and Archilocus, one the Father of Heroic Poem, and the other of Epode and Trochaic. But the Choice of Phalaris and Aesop, as they are now Extant, for the two great inimitable Originals, is a Piece of Criticism of a peculiar Complexion, and must proceed from a Singularity of Palate and Judgment. See Dr. Bentley's Letter to Dr. Wotton, p. 7.

Date than their pretended Author, and probably the Work of some Modern Sophist. This he does with a great Shew of recondite Learning, but not so much to convince the World of Sir *William's* Mistake, as to disparage the *Oxford* Edition, and represent the honourable Person concern'd in it, as insufficient for the Work, devoid of all critical Knowledge, and unacquainted with the Author he pretended to publish. It was not long however before there came out an Answer to this Elaborate Piece of Dr. *Bentley's*, but such an Answer, as perhaps never appeared in any Language before: It may be justly call'd the Pride and Glory of the *Moderns*, and a Confutation of all that can be said in Preference of the *Ancients*. There is such an Eloquence of Stile, and Justness of Expression, exact Method, tierce Wit, fine Rallery, and genteel Satyr thro' the whole, that whoever is minded to be curiously entertain'd for a while, let him read it; whoever desires to overcome in the Philological Way, let him make it his Pattern, and learn to imitate it. He will soon perceive therein, such a Strength of Genius and Warmth of Invention guided by Art, and kept *in* by the Laws of correct Writing, such an easy Display of Learning, happy Declensions of his Adversary's Force, and foiling him frequently at his own Weapon, as will induce him to be of my Opinion, *viz.* that Dr. *Bentley* was

certainly

certainly cut down by some eminent *Master*, however decent it might be thought at that Time, for a young Gentleman to give him the *Coup de Grace*, and sharpen it with this Sarcasm, *Pallas te hoc vulnere Pallas immolat, &c.*

WHAT may convince the World of the Truth of this common Conjecture, is the Figure that he makes in another fam'd Controversy, wherein he avowedly stands alone, and treats his Adversary; (no less an Adversary than the Reverend Dr. *Wake*, present Archbishop of *Canterbury*) in the same keen Manner.

To give my Reader a small Insight into the Grounds of this Controversy it may not be improper to set before him, the Source from whence the Dispute arose.

ABOUT the Year 1696, there came out a Pamphlet, supposed to be written by the Reverend Dr. *Binckes*, occasion'd by the Interruption of *Convocations*; and intituled, *A Letter to a Convocation Man, Concerning the Rights, Powers, and Privileges* of that Body. The Principal Matters which that Author insisted on, were, 1st. The Clergy's Right to frequent Synods, according to the Canons of the Christian Church and Constitution of this Realm. 2^{dly}. Their Right of meeting and sitting in Convocation as often as a new Parliament meets and sits. And 3^{dly}. A Right of treating and deliberating about such

Affairs as lie within their proper Sphere, and of coming to fit Resolutions upon them, without being necessitated, antecedently to qualify themselves for such Acts and Debates, by a Licence under the Broad Seal of *England*. The Opinions of Men in both Houses of Convocation, were strangely divided about these Questions: Some thought them Rights intirely due to the Clergy, and essential to the Being of Ecclesiastical Synods; Others, introductive of too bold an Independancy, and Encroachments upon Regal Authority, not to be borne. Among those of the latter Opinion, appear'd Dr. *Wake*, and in the Year 1697, published his Book, Entituled, *The Authority of Christian Princes over their Ecclesiastical Synods asserted; with particular Respect to their Convocations of the Clergy of the Realm, and Church of England*. The Design of which Work, was, as he declared in his *Appeal*, &c. no other than to defend the *King's Supremacy*; "I was not so little acquainted, says he, with the Tempers and Designs of a certain Party among us, as not to know that my Undertaking would be likely to displease Those, who think any the least *Authority* that is given to his present *Majesty*, to be an Encroachment either upon their *Civil* or *Ecclesiastical Rights*." And, in another Place, "Thus far, 'tis plain, (adds he) they have gone towards it, that as they have
" before

“ before shewn the *Church* to be out of
 “ the Protection of the Prince, so they will
 “ by and by declare the Prince to be out
 “ of the *Bosom* of the *Church*, &c” —

The World seem'd to be satisfy'd with Dr.
Wake's Sentiments, till, in the Year 1700,
 Dr. *Atterbury* publish'd (without his Name)
 an Answer to his Treatise, and thus accosts
 the Reader, in his Preface: “ I confess I
 “ came to Dr. *Wake's* Book, with Expe-
 “ ctations of finding there, whatever was
 “ necessary to set this Matter in a clear
 “ Light; the Bulk of the Work, the Ap-
 “ pearance of Learning it carry'd, and
 “ the great Authority by which it endea-
 “ vour'd to recommend itself, all seem'd to
 “ promise Exactness. But upon perusing it,
 “ to my Surprize, I found that it was a
 “ shallow, empty Performance; written
 “ without any Knowledge of our Constitu-
 “ tion, any Skill in the particular Subject
 “ of Debate; upon such Principles as are
 “ destructive of all our Civil, as well as
 “ Ecclesiastical Liberties; and with such
 “ Aspersions on the Clergy, both Dead
 “ and Living, as were no less injurious to
 “ the Body, than his Doctrine.

THE very best Construction, continues, he that
 has been put upon Dr. *Wake's* Attempt by Can-
 did Readers is, that it was an Endeavour to
 advance the Prerogative of the Prince in
 Church Matters as high, and to depress the
 Interest

Interest of the Subject Spiritual as low as ever he could, with any Colour of Truth. But surely this itself is no very creditable Account of it. Those Casuists that have taken Pains to instruct Men, how near they may possibly come to a Sin without actually Sinning, have not been reckon'd the honestest Part of their Profession. And those Divines, who read Lessons to Princes, how to strain their Ecclesiastical Power to the utmost without exceeding it, and oppress their Clergy Legally, are not surely the best Men of their Order. They are Church-*Empsons* and *Dudleys*; and usually find the Fate of such wretched Instruments, to be detested by the one Side, and, at last, abandon'd by the other.

WERE all that Dr. *Wake* says strictly true and justifiable, yet whether the labouring the Point so heartily as he does, and shewing himself so willing to prove the Church to have no Rights and Privileges, be a very decent Part in a Clergyman, I leave his Friends to consider. The World, I fear, is so ill natur'd as to believe that seldom any Man is over busy in lessening the publick Interests of that Body to which he belongs, who does not hope to find his private Account in it. • But, when All a Man advances is not only ill design'd, but ill grounded, and his Principles are as false as they are scandalous (as I have evidently
prov'd

prov'd his to be) there are no Names, and Censures too bad to be bestow'd on such Writers, and their Writings.

It was the Abhorrence I had of this unworthy Treatment which the *Reputation* and *Rights* of the Order have found from Dr. *Wake* and of the *Slavish Tendency* of his *Principles*, in Respect both to *Church* and *State*, that gave me Resolutions of exposing the Weakness and Insincerity of his Attempt, and of doing Right to Truth, and an injur'd Constitution.

To this Book of Dr. *Atterbury's*, Dr. *Wake*, in the Year 1703, publish'd a Reply, in Folio, entitled, *The State of the Church and Clergy of England, &c.* In the Preface whereof, he makes this Complaint, "Upon my first Perusal (of what Dr. *Atterbury* had wrote) I saw a Spirit of Wrath and Uncharitableness, accompany'd with such an Assurance of the then unknown Author's Abilities for such an Undertaking, as I had hardly ever met with in the like Degree before. I perceiv'd that he desir'd, in the direct Reverse of what I had profess'd, to be look'd upon to have written with Care and Deliberation; to have fully search'd into his Subject, and to have been no less plentifully stor'd with Materials of all Kinds for the perfect clearing of it. And tho' I do not think a Man of Pride
" and

“ and Arrogance, full of himself, and a
 “ Despiser of all others, to be generally
 “ the best qualify’d to know either *Him-*
 “ *self*, or the *Truth*; yet I hop’d I should
 “ here find somewhat to clear the One, and
 “ thereby to attone for, if not to justify, the
 “ Other.

“ In my Examination of the whole Book,
 “ I found in it enough to commend the Wit,
 “ tho’ not the Spirit of him who wrote it. ---
 “ To pay what is Due even to an Adver-
 “ sary; it must be allow’d that Dr. *Atter-*
 “ *bury* has done all that a Man of forward
 “ Parts, and a hearty Zeal could do, to
 “ defend the Cause which he had espous’d.
 “ He has chosen the most plausible To-
 “ picks of Argumentation; and he has gi-
 “ ven them all the Advantage that either
 “ a sprightly Wit, or a good Assurance
 “ could afford them. But he wanted one
 “ Thing, he had not *Truth* on his Side:
 “ And *Error*, tho’ it may be palliated, and
 “ by an artificial Manager, such as Dr.
 “ *Atterbury*, without Controversy, is, be-
 “ disguis’d so as to deceive, sometimes, even
 “ a wary Reader, yet it will not bear a
 “ strict Examination. And accordingly I
 “ have shewn him, notwithstanding all his
 “ other Endowments, (in which if he plea-
 “ ses he shall have my free Consent to
 “ stand above me) to have deluded the
 “ World with a meer Romance; and from

“ the

“ the one End of his Discourse to the other
 “ to have deliver’d a History, not of what
 “ was really done, but of what it was his
 “ Interest to make it believe had been
 “ done. — This I can with great Sin-
 “ cerity profess, and having said it, I shall
 “ have done; *I have not willingly mista-*
 “ *ken, much less have I misrepresented,*
 “ *any Matter of Fact; I have not know-*
 “ *ingly conceal’d any Thing that made*
 “ *against Me: I have asserted nothing but*
 “ *what I verily believe to be the Truth;*
 “ *and I have defended it with nothing*
 “ *but what, after a diligent Examination,*
 “ *I take to be True.* Under this Assu-
 “ rance I cheerfully commit myself, and
 “ my Cause, to the Judgment of all Wise,
 “ and Charitable, and indifferent Persons.
 “ For the rest, and particularly for Dr.
 “ *Atterbury* they have their Liberty; let
 “ them *Think*; let them *Speak*; let them
 “ *Write* as they please of Me.

I RELATE these Passages, to let my Rea-
 der know, with what Spirit and Resolu-
 tion these two Disputants enter’d the Lists:
 How they behav’d, and to whom the Vi-
 ctory fell, is not so well decided. Men
 speak variously, and according as they are
 affected: But the general Opinion is, that,
 however *Truth* might be on Dr. *Wake’s*
 Side, yet the *Appearance* of it was cer-
 tainly with Dr. *Atterbury*; and that, what-

ever he might want in Point of Argument and Fact, he abundantly supply'd by the Elegance of his Stile, his fine Turn of Thought, and Copiousness of Invention; so that, from a dry and intricate Subject, he has furnish'd out a very curious Entertainment for his Reader. The Consequence of the Debate, however, prov'd very advantageous to them both. Dr. *Wake* was soon promoted to the Bench of Bishops, and Dr. *Atterbury* had instantly his Dr. of Divinity's Degree presented him, by the University, and some Honorary Preferments, not long after, conferr'd upon him, for his Performance. All this while he made a considerable Figure in the Church; both as an able Divine, and an eminent Preacher; which is the next Prospect wherein we are to consider him.

At what Time he enter'd into Holy Orders is not so well known, nor so material to our present Enquiry, 'twas probably before he left the University, and some Time before his Father died, because he certainly made Application to the present Earl of *Nottingham* to succeed in the Rectory of *Milton*, and upon a Preference given to Dr. *Wotton*, there commenc'd, ever after, no good Understanding, between these two great Men. Being disappointed in his Expectation of this Preferment, which he then call'd the Heighth of his Ambition, and the Matter of his Option,

Option, the more, because it was the Place of his Birth, he betook himself to Town, where, in a short Time, he distinguish'd himself in such a Manner, that, two Years afterwards, we find Him made Chaplain to *their* MAJESTIES, and Preacher at *Bridewell*; before the President and Governours of this Hospital, and those of *Bethlehem*, on the 16th of *August*, 1694, being the Election-Day, he preach'd a remarkable Sermon in *Bridewell-Chapel*, intitled, *The Power of Charity to Cover Sin*. 'Twas the second that he publish'd, and how fruitful soever he might seem in his Invention, upon the Subject, yet there is certainly an unwarrantable Singularity in his Doctrine, and a palpable Mistake in the Sense of his Text, *Charity shall cover a Multitude of Sins*. 1 *Pet.* iv. 8. *i. e.* not that this Virtue has any Power in it to make an Attonement for any Sins that we ourselves commit; but the plain Sense, in my Opinion, is, that *Charity*, or a sweet and candid Disposition of Mind, which the Apostle says *hopeth all Things, and believeth all Things* for the best, hides and conceals a Multitude of other Men's Offences, as being willing to make their Failings as few as may be, and to put the best Construction upon their *dubious* Actions. So that it is not our own, but other Mens Sins that *Charity* hides; a true Doctrine, and wisely calculated for the Peace of the

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World,

World, and Benefit of human Society. But the contrary Opinion is inconsistent with Truth, and destructive of the Notions we have of God and Godliness; for as the Rev. Mr. *Hoadley*, (now Bp. of *Hereford*) in his *Exceptions* to this Sermons, some Years after, 1708, truly says, “ *If God will accept of one Duty* “ *in Lieu of many others, and if our Perfor-* “ *mance of that shall be our Justification, not-* “ *withstanding our Omission of many others.* “ *This is a Sort of Salvation, in my Judg-* “ *ment, unworthy of the Nature of Man to* “ *receive: and unworthy of the Nature of* “ *God to offer. Let me, therefore,* (adds “ *he in the Conclusion)* *intreat you to re-* “ *view the groundless and pernicious Do-* “ *ctrine you have unwarily taught on this* “ *Subject: Consider, if Charity ought to be* “ *represented as founded upon a Temper in-* “ *consistent with Innocence, and an unspot-* “ *ted Conscience; as productive of Vice, and* “ *Folly, and Madness; as leading to the* “ *Neglect of the Principal Branches of it-* “ *self; and the like: And whether it be-* “ *comes a Christian Divine to set the several* “ *Parts of God’s Law at Variance, and* “ *to make the Performance of one of them,* “ *an Attonement for the Neglect of others,* “ *as indispensibly requir’d; or having done* “ *this, whether it does not become him to* “ *make Reparation for so great an Injury* “ *as must arise from hence to the Gospel,*
and

and to the Interest of Virtue in the World. *

Dr. *Atterbury* thought not proper to reply to these *Exceptions*; whether he esteem'd 'em not of sufficient Consequence to be answer'd, or was already satiated in contesting with that acute and learned Disputant.

FOR not long before, there happen'd a very warm Dispute between these two, upon Account of a Sermon which Dr. *Atterbury* Preach'd at the Funeral of Mr. *Tho. Bennet*, wherein he endeavours to prove, that were there no Life after this, 1. Men would really be more miserable than Beasts; and 2. The best Men more miserable than the worst, so far as Happiness or Misery are to be measur'd from pleasing or painful Sensations; which, upon the Supposition of no future State, he says, are the true Measures of them. This Doctrine was founded upon the Words of the Apostle, 1 Cor. 15. 19. *If in this Life only we have Hope in Christ, we are of all Men most miserable.* But Mr. *Hoadley* shews, and I think with a great deal of Clearness, that he hath both widely mistaken the Sense of his Text, and advanc'd Positions thereupon, that are dangerous and immoral. That the Words of the Apostle consider Christians in a State of bitter Persecution, not of Ease
and

* See, Mr. Hoadley's *Tracts*, p. 224. collected into One Vol. 8vo. Anno 1715.

and Tranquility, and their Misery as the Consequence of the World's ill Usage of them, more than any Restraint or Self-denial, that they are bound to put upon their Appetites. *The Apostle, says he, speaks of Christians professing Faith in Christ; You speak of Persons practising the Moral Precepts of Religion: The Apostle speaks of the Condition of such Christians, in a State of the most bitter Persecution; You speak of the Condition of Virtuous Persons, in the ordinary Course of God's Providence. The Apostle means nothing by his Assertion and Supposition, but to shame ignorant unwary Professors of Christianity, out of a Denial of a general Resurrection; You on the contrary, draw from your Supposition and Assertions, an absolute Argument for the Certainty of a future State. So that upon the Review, it seems evident, that you have mistaken the Assertion itself, which the Apostle layeth down in the Text; the Persons concerning whom he intends it, the Times to which he manifestly limits it, and the Conclusion which he design'd should be drawn from it* *. Nor is it only this Misinterpretation of the Text that he blames, but when he comes to examine into the Doctor's Positions, he finds them so grossly Culpable

* Vid. *Bp. Hoadley's several Tracts, the First Letter to Dr. Francis Atterbury*, p. 111.

pable, and argues against them with such a warm Commendation of Virtue, and Disparagement of Vice, that I could not but think it no disagreeable Entertainment to the Reader, to set before him, a Passage or two to that Purpose. *One would have thought, says he, speaking of the Position, that Brutes are happier than Men; that even supposing no Other State after This, it were some Advantage to be made capable of knowing God; of imitating him; of seeing him in his Works; of studying and finding out Truth. One would have thought, that the Pleasures of true Learning and sound Sense, the Pleasures of Friendship and honest Society, of interchanging mutual good Offices, of contributing to the Ease and Happiness of our Fellow Creatures, and of the Practice of many Virtues, which are Happiness itself, might have been worth the mentioning; but it seems, these are nothing in themselves, when compar'd with the noble Pleasures which the Beasts so freely enjoy. Is it of no Account, says he, speaking of the other Position; That wicked Men are not so miserable as the good; that wicked Men follow their Inclinations in Contradiction to their Reason? Or is this an happier State, than to follow Reason and imitate God, in Contradiction to Inclination? Does not the latter necessarily leave the Man in an happier present State, than the former? Or*
are

are the *Lashes* of Conscience of no manner of Consideration? Is it of no Account, that the intemperate Pursuit of the Pleasures the Wicked chuse, destroys even their own Design, and leads them into a Thousand Sickneses, Disturbances, Perplexities, Deaths, which the virtuous keep off by their Temperance and Chastity, and Command over their Appetites? Is it of no Account, that Envy, Malice, Revenge, Insatiable Desire of Riches or Honours, are present Unhappineses in themselves, and that the Virtue contrary to them, are Peace and Harmony, and Quiet? Is it of no Account, that many Vices impair the Health, destroy the Vigour of the Mind, hasten Death, ruin Estates, disturb Families, render Men the Scorn and Contempt of the good Part of the World? Is it, lastly, of no Account, that wicked Men are as liable to Sicknes and Afflictions as the good, and want those Supports in them, which the good and upright enjoy; nay, that their very Successes in this World, are very frequently the Occasions and Instruments even of their present Ruin and Unhappines? Your Position, says he, (speaking at last of the evil Tendency of his Doctrine,) deprive the Cause of Virtue of a very good and proper Argument to recommend it to the Tryal of any Persons who are Strangers to it, viz. that it will contribute even to their present Happiness,
much

much more than Vice; that it will more consult the Ease of their Minds, the Health of their Bodies, the Increase of their Estates, the Establishment of their good Name, all which are, in their several Degrees, present Happiness. Your Doctrine robs even Christianity itself, of an excellent Argument, viz. That the Moral Virtues it recommends, are in themselves infinitely preferable to the Vices contrary to them, and much more conducive to the present Happiness of Man as well as Future. It seems to contradict several Texts in Scripture, which declare at least thus much, that in the ordinary Course of God's Providence, the Virtuous Man does more truly enjoy Happiness, even in this Life, than the Wicked, and gives a wide Encouragement to Men that have no Faith, or a very weak one, concerning future Rewards, to disturb Human Society, by their inordinate Pursuit of bestial Pleasures.*

THIS home Charge, and heavy Imputation soon drew, from Dr. Atterbury, a *Vindication* of himself, and his Positions, in a large Preface affixt to his Volume of Sermons, 1708, wherein, by the Help of some Explanations and necessary Restrictions, he endeavours to assuage the Credit of his Do-

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ctrine,

*Vide Ibid. p. 114, &c.

ctrine, and, by a long Induction of Authorities, and learned Names, to avoid the Charge of Novelty, and shew the World, that the general Current of Divines, (of *English* Divines especially,) was of his Opinion. This *Vindication*, however, was wrote with so keen and Satyrical a Pen, that it drew from his Adversary, in a *Second* long Letter, which he wrote to Dr. *Atterbury*, this heavy Complaint, “As for
 “the uncharitable Usage I have met with
 “from you, without the least Ground, unless for being of a different Opinion, and
 “representing this Difference to you, seriously and gravely, *I pray God not to*
 “*lay it to your Charge.* My Civility you
 “have return’d, by supposing the worst that
 “can be suppos’d of me: By charging me,
 “not with involuntary Mistakes, *but wicked and impious Designs.* The Cause
 “that I maintain is, the Cause of Infidelity, Deist, *Ægyptian, Rash, Insincere,*
 “*Malicious, Base, Dishonest, Ignorant,* and the like, are the *Christian*
 “*Complements which, with an happy Variety of Expression,* you pass upon One,
 “who acted a very different Part towards
 “you, and who now forgives you, well
 “knowing, that all the Provocations you can
 “offer cannot justify, what they well deserve, the Return of the like, from a *Christian.*”

It must be own'd, indeed, that Dr. *Atterbury*, in most of his Controversial Pieces, has been Invective enough, and dealt out his Wit and Satyr at a most unmerciful Rate, which, perhaps, may give Pleasure to some Sort of Readers, but contributes very little to the Establishment of Truth: There is one Light, however, wherein he always appear'd advantageously, and with all the Accomplishments imaginable, and that is, in the *Character* of a PREACHER; and herein I am now come to consider him.

THOSE that treat of the Eloquence of the Pulpit, and the Qualifications that are requisite to make an Eminent Preacher, insist more especially on this, that, both in natural, and acquir'd Abilities, he be sufficient to instruct the Reason, and move the Passions of those that hear him. And in Order hereunto they require, 1st, A sound Judgment, and strong Reasoning. 2ly, A laudable and becoming Use of Invention. 3ly, A Stile and Language that benefits the Pulpit. 4ly, A clear and perspicuous Method. 5ly, A Skill in all Parts of human Literature. And, 6ly, A great Discretion and Prudence in chusing proper Subjects,

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and

* Vide Mr. *Hoadley's* Second Letter to Dr. *Atterbury*, *ibid.* Page 207.

and adapting them to Times and Seasons, In all which Regards, among the many great Preachers of our Age, no one, that ever I knew, had happier Talents than Dr. *Atterbury*. His Person was very well made; he had a Gracefulness in his Behavior, and a Kind of Majestick Gravity in his Looks, that bespoke him Reverence, wheresoever he came. His Voice was not strong, but there was something so sweet in his Pronunciation, and so insinuating in his Address, as gain'd him the Possession of an Audience whenever he began to speak: Besides this, he had a quick Penetration, an exquisite Understanding, an easy Comprehension, a sprightly Fancy and Imagination, and solid Judgment and good Sense; all united and combin'd together. No Man had a finer Taste, or was better acquainted with all Kinds of polite Learning than he: No Man was a greater Master of the Scriptures, the Fathers, and the Writings of all eminent Divines, both *ancient* and *modern*, than he: No Man understood the Points in Dispute between us and the Church of *Rome*, as well as Dissenters of all other Denominations, better than he; but that which gave him a particular Lustre above his Brethren, was the Sublimity of his Subject, which he always either found, or made so, before he left it; the Clearness and Connexion of his Reasoning, the Strength and Purity of his
Stile,

Stile, and that peculiar Art, whereby he first instructs our Understanding, and then by a pleasing Violence, seizes upon our Passions, and leads them Captive where he will, and just as he pleases. To justify in some Measure, this Commendation of him, it may not be improper to set before my Reader, some few Passages out of his Sermons, by way of Illustration of what I have said, and Encouragement of others, to the Perusal of them. In his Sermon before the Honourable House of Commons, on the Anniversary for the Restauration of King CHARLES the II. speaking of the visible Interposition of Providence, in such miraculous Events as attend States and Kingdoms, he has something very magnificent and sublime, *viz.* “ Since we
 “ are apt to forget God’s Administration of
 “ the great Affairs below, *says he*, when they
 “ go on evenly, and regularly, He is pleas-
 “ ed by awakening Notices, now and then,
 “ to put us in Mind of it; to present to our
 “ View some astonishing Revolution of State,
 “ *like a glaring Comet hung up in the Air,*
 “ *whose irregular Motion and Appearance,*
 “ *shall sooner lead our Thoughts up to the*
 “ *Author of Nature, and imprint a deeper*
 “ *Awe of him upon us, than the Sight of*
 “ *the whole Host of Heaven in orderly Ar-*
 “ *ray, continually moving round us.*” * In
 the

the same Sermon, and on the same Subject, he gives a fine Turn to a common Thought, and, in his manner of expressing it, is extremely beautiful. “ Were it not for such
 “ surprizing Revolutions of Affairs, *says he,*
 “ which disappoint the Devices of the Crafty
 “ Ones, and make the Heads of the ablest
 “ and most experienc’d Lookers on, giddy
 “ at the Sight; God would, in the Opinion of
 “ many of his Creatures, be shut out from
 “ the Government of the World, and the Honour
 “ of his Conduct would be devolv’d upon
 “ some of the mean and subordinate Instruments
 “ of it, *those poor Insects, that sit*
 “ *upon the Wheels of State, and imagine*
 “ *themselves to be the Authors of all its Mo-*
 “ *tions, and able to check, or to quicken them,*
 “ *at their Pleasure.* ” * And to mention
 one Beauty more, in the same Sermon, we
 have the justest, and perhaps the noblest Description
 of our present happy Constitution, that can be met
 with in any Author whatever. “ We of this Island, *says he,*
 “ enjoy
 “ a Constitution, wisely moulded out of all
 “ the different Forms, and Kinds of Civil
 “ Government, into such an excellent and
 “ happy Frame, as contains in it all the Advan-
 “ tages of those several Forms, without
 “ sharing deeply in any of their great Incon-
 “ veniencies. A Constitution nicely pois’d
 “ between

* Vide *ibid.* p. 12.

“ between the Extreame of too much Li-
 “ berty, and too much Power, and whose
 “ several Parts have a proper Check upon
 “ each other, when any of them happen to
 “ tread awry : Where the Prince is cloath’d
 “ with a Prerogative, that enables him to do
 “ all the Good he has a mind to ; and wants
 “ no Power, but what a good Prince wou’d
 “ not, and an ill Prince ought not to have ;
 “ where he governs, though not absolutely,
 “ yet gloriously, because he governs Men,
 “ and not Slaves ; and is obey’d by them
 “ chearfully, because they know, that in
 “ obeying him, they obey those Laws only,
 “ which they themselves had a Share in con-
 “ triving. A Constitution where the exter-
 “ nal Government of the Church is so close-
 “ ly interwoven with that of the State, and
 “ so exactly adapted to it in all its Parts, as
 “ that it can flourish only, when that does ;
 “ and must, as it always has hitherto done,
 “ decline, die, and revive with it. In a
 “ Word, where the Interest of Prince and
 “ Subject, Priest and People, are perpetu-
 “ ally the same, and the only fatal Mistake,
 “ that ever happens in our Politicks, is, when
 “ they are thought to be divided. ” *

WITH what Art and fine Insinuation he
commends, and even comes up to the Digni-
 ty of Kings and Crown’d Heads, we see in
 the

* Ibid. p. 20.

the two different Characters, which he has drawn of the *Two great Princes*, that he liv'd under. "To the Influence of this Day
 "it is owing, (speaking of King *William*, of
 "Immortal Memory, says he) that we have
 "at the Head of our Troops, and our Coun-
 "cils, a Prince, that has happily join'd to-
 "gether the extreams of Martial, and Poli-
 "tical Virtues; and knows as well how to
 "govern a free People, by their own Laws
 "and Customs, as to command Legions: Who,
 "whether in the Cabinet, or in the Field,
 "is still equally in his Sphere; and is always
 "indifferent therefore, either to War, or
 "Peace, any farther, than the One, or the
 "Other shall conduce to the good of his Peo-
 "ple, and the general Interest of Mankind.*
 Nothing certainly can be a finer Stroke of
 Oratory, or a juster Commendation of that
 Heroic Prince; and in like manner of our
 late gracious Queen ANNE. "She wears the
 "Crown of her Forefathers, *says he*, to
 "which she is Entitled by Blood, and which
 "was plac'd on her Royal Head, not only
 "with the Free Consent, but with the Uni-
 "versal Joy and Acclamations of her Sub-
 "jects. She rules a Willing People, not by
 "the Terror of Rods and Axes, but with
 the

* Vide *Sermon before the House of Commons*, May
 29, 1701. p. 22.

“ the indulgent Tendernefs of a Common
 “ Parent ; ſhe deſires rather to be Belov’d,
 “ than Fear’d by them, and takes the trueſt
 “ Way toward ſecuring their Utmoſt Love,
 “ by ſhewing, in every Step of her Gracious
 “ Conduct, that She entirely loves them. She
 “ hath no Intereſt, can have no Intereſt, Se-
 “ parate from Theirs ; and upon *Her*, Ma-
 “ lice itſelf cou’d never faſten a Suspicion,
 “ of Her purſuing any Meaſures, which aim’d
 “ rather at her Own Glory, or Advantage,
 “ than the Common Good of *England*. † ”

WITH what Dexterity he *cautions*, and
 even while he is imploring our Prayers and
 Interceſſions for *Princes*, gives them a Ca-
 talogue of the Snares and Temptations they
 are expos’d to, and a kind Memento to avoid
 them, we have an Inſtance in the ſame Ser-
 mon. “ With what Difficulties is their Ad-
 “ miniſtration, (ſpeaking of crown’d Heads)
 “ ſays he, often clogg’d by the Perverſeneſs,
 “ Folly, or Wickedneſs of thoſe they go-
 “ vern ? How hard a Thing do they find it,
 “ to inform themſelves truly of the State of Af-
 “ fairs ; where Fraud, and Flattery ſurrounds,
 “ and takes ſuch Pains to miſlead them ? How
 “ nice a Task is it to diſtinguiſh between
 “ the Counſels which are given out of Private
 “ Intereſt, and Thoſe, which a Care of the
 F “ Publick

† *Sermon before the Houſe of Commons, March 8,*
 1703-4.

“ Publick Good suggests; and to steer their
 “ Course aright, between the Extreame, of
 “ allowing too much Liberty, and affecting
 “ too much Power? To what Daily Dangers
 “ are their Persons expos’d, from the At-
 “ tempts of Treachery and Violence; How
 “ particular and pressing are the Temptations,
 “ to which the Height of Power, they have
 “ attain’d, make them liable? They are
 “ above the reach of Fear, Reproof, and
 “ most of those outward Checks, which God
 “ hath plac’d as Guards upon private Mens
 “ Virtue; and are, on that Account, in
 “ great Danger of letting loose their Appe-
 “ tites and Passions into all manner of Ex-
 “ cesses, without an extraordinary Degree of
 “ God’s Restraining Grace; which, it there-
 “ fore becomes and concerns us, to beg of
 “ *Him, and for Them.* †

WITH what Allurements he *persuades* and
 even draws our reluctant Natures to the Ap-
 probation of such Virtues, as are repugnant
 to the Ways of the World, and the common
 Bent of Mankind: His *Discourse of Religi-
 ous Retirement*, is, throughout, a lively Pat-
 tern, and, in its Kind, a curious Master-
 piece indeed. Speaking of that Dissipation
 of Thought, which our conversing much in
 the World occasions, he pleases me with
 these Words. “ To retrieve ourselves from
 “ this

† Ibid. p. 11.

" this ill Effect, *says he*, it is requisite to re-
 " tire frequently, and to converse much with
 " (what We above all things Love, and yet
 " above all things hate to converse with)
 " Our Selves; to inure our Minds to Recolle-
 " ction, to fix them on the greatest and most
 " concerning Objects, those which Religion
 " suggests; till the busy Swarm of vain Ima-
 " ges, that besets us, be thoroughly dispers'd,
 " and the several scatter'd Rays of Thought,
 " by thus Centring in a Point, do, by little
 " and little, warm our Frozen Hearts, and at
 " last produce an Holy Flame." And again,
 speaking of those turbulent Passions, that
 are excited by the same bad Cause, he not
 only delights me, but wins me over by his
 sweet Persuasion. " Wouldst thou then be
 " free from Envy, and Scorn, from Anger,
 " and Strife, *says he*, fly from the Occasions
 " of them; steal away from the great Scene
 " of Passion and Business into thy Privacy;
 " shut the Doors about thee, *Commune with*
 " *thy Own Heart, in thy Chamber, and*
 " *be still.* There all Animosities are for-
 " gotten, all Pursuits, all Competitions cease;
 " there all Marks of Distinction are laid aside;
 " the Great and the Lowly, the Prince and
 " the Subject are upon the Level; equally
 " under the Eye of one Common Master, de-
 " sirous of pleasing Him, and mindless of
 " lesser Interests and Concerns. There the
 " Vanities and Vexations of this World are

“ shut out, and the Considerations are let in;
 “ and our Soul enjoys the sweet Content-
 “ ment and Repose, which it enjoys no
 “ where else, on this side Heaven. †

WITH what strong Arguments, as well as Eloquence, he *convinces* Gain-sayers, and establisheth the great Points of our most Holy Religion; his whole Sermon of *The Excellency of a Standing Revelation*; with what powerful Motives, and warm Applications he exhorts us to our Duty; his several Discourses *concerning The Power and Merit and Impediments of Charity*; and with what strong Consolation he refresheth the Mind under Worldly Losses, and alleviates the Sting of all dolorous Incidents; his excellent Doctrine of *Acquainting ourselves with God*, upon any such Emergency, is a convincing Testimony. My Reader will not be offended, if I transcribe a Passage or two out of these, to give him a better Perception of what it is I mean. In his *Excellency of a Standing Revelation*, speaking of the Advantages thereof, above any extraordinary Appearance for the Attestation of Religion. “ There is a like Difference between
 “ the Ways in which these several Proofs
 “ operate, *says he*, as there is between the
 “ several Impressions made upon Thoughtful
 “ Minds,

† Vide *Sermon before the Queen*, March 23, 1704-5.
 p. 16.

“ Minds, by the Works of Art, and of Na-
 “ ture. The Works of Art, which are most
 “ nice and curious, strike and surprize us most
 “ upon the first View ; but the better ac-
 “ quainted we are with them, the less we
 “ wonder at them : Whereas the Works of
 “ Nature will bear a Thousand Views and
 “ Re-views, and will still appear New to us :
 “ The more frequently, and narrowly we
 “ look into them, the more Occasion we
 “ shall have to admire their fine and subtle
 “ Texture, their Beauty and Use, and Ex-
 “ cellent Contrivance. The same may we
 “ say of the Standing Evidences of the Gos-
 “ pel, ” * &c. And in another Place, speak-
 ing of the Incongruity of Proofs extraordi-
 nary, and fresh Revelations for the Confuta-
 tion of Infidelity. † “ It is below the Majesty
 “ of God, *says he*, by an Immediate Inter-
 “ position of his Omnipotence, to be appeal-
 “ ing every Day to his Creatures, for the
 “ Truth of his Religion ; an endless, and
 “ unbecoming Task, to be put upon offering
 “ Supernatural Proofs, for the Conviction of
 “ impious Men, as oft as their Infidelity shall
 “ be pleas’d to demand them ! Not so doth
 “ he proceed in the Government of the Na-
 “ tural World : He made it indeed at the first,
 “ after

* Vide *Sermon before Her Majesty*, Octob. 28, 1705.
 p. 20. † Ibid. p. 29.

“ after a Miraculous and Incomprehensible
 “ Manner; but he steers and directs the Affairs
 “ of it, ever since, by standing Rules and
 “ Laws, and by the ordinary Ministry of Se-
 “ cond Causes. With Equal Wisdom has he
 “ Temper’d the Conduct of the Moral World
 “ also.

IN his several *Recommendations of Pub-
 lick Charities*, speaking of the Number and
 great Variety of them. “ Here are the Wants
 “ of grown Men and Children, *says he*, of
 “ the Soldier, the Seaman, and the Artifi-
 “ cer; of the Diseas’d, the Maim’d, and the
 “ Wounded; of Distracted Persons, and Con-
 “ demn’d Criminals; of sturdy wandring
 “ Beggars, and loose disorderly Livers; nay
 “ of those, who counterfeits Wants of all
 “ Kinds, while they really want nothing,
 “ but due Correction, and hard Labour; at
 “ one View, represented to you. * So that
 “ this Great Receptacle of Miserable Objects
 “ of every Kind, (as he has it in another
 “ Place) seems to be like that Medicinal *Pool*
 “ at *Bethesda*, where there were Virtues
 “ proper for every Malady; all Infirmities
 “ were equally cur’d in Those, who had the
 “ Happiness to get into it. I can carry the
 “ Parallel no farther, I thank God ——— for
 “ the Prudence and Vigilance of its Gover-
 “ nours, as it hitherto *has*, so, I question not,
 “ *will*

* Vide *Spittal Sermon*, April 26, 1709. p. 19.

“*will* take Care, that (Contrary to what
 “happen’d to the *Impotent Man* in that
 “Story) They, who have *most need* of the
 “*Pool*, shall ever have the Happiness to get
 “*first* into it. Impartiality is the Soul of
 “Mercy, as well as Justice; and adds far-
 “ther Degrees of Use and Beauty, to the
 “most Useful and Beautiful Thing in the
 “World.” *. In the former Sentence, the
 Enumeration is surprizingly artful and judi-
 cious; there is such an happy Brevity in it,
 as our Modern Sermonizers are absolute Stran-
 gers to. A *Knaggs*, or a *Sacheverell*, out of
 their Fœcundity of Words, and Sterility of
 Invention, would have made a Page of eve-
 ry Member in it; and spun out to a Volume,
 what he has comprized in a few Lines, from
 his Ignorance of their Method of Writing,
 and long Acquaintance with much better Au-
 thors. The Break in the latter Sentence, and
 Moral Reflection that follows it, are Two
 Beauties of an extraordinary Nature, and
 not inferior to some of the brightest Figures
 and justest Sentiments that are to be found
 among the *Ancients*. In another Place, speak-
 ing of the probable Perpetuity of these Pub-
 lick Charities. “They have stood the Test
 “of all Times and Revolutions, *says he*, even
 “of such, as scarce spar’d any thing that
 “was

* Vide *The Power of Charity to Cover Sin. Preach’d*
 August 16, 1694. p. 23.

" was truly Sacred and Venerable. When
 " Sacrilegious and Rebellious Hands had
 " *raised* the Church, *even to the Foundation*
 " *thereof*, and laid the *Honour* of the Crown
 " *low in the Dust*; yet still, struck with a
 " Reverence for these awful Charities, they
 " suffer'd them to stand undiminished, un-
 " touch'd, amidst the common Ruins; and
 " what the Malice and Frenzy of that Time
 " spar'd, we have Reason to hope, may con-
 " tinue for ever!"* And again, speaking of
 the Invisible Blessing of God, attending and
 augmenting these Charities. "I take it to
 " be an Argument of God's peculiar Blessing
 " upon them, *says he*, that the Expences of
 " some of them have always much exceeded
 " their certain Annual Income, but seldom or
 " never their Casual Supplies. I call them
 " *Casual*, in compliance with the common
 " Form of speaking, tho' I doubt not, but
 " that they owe their Rise to a very particu-
 " lar Direction of Providence. The Over-
 " seers of these Bounties seem to me, like
 " those who live on the Banks of *Nile*,
 " who plough up their Ground, and sow their
 " Seed, under a confident Expectation, that
 " the Soil will, in due Time, be manur'd by
 " the overflowing of that River, though
 " they neither see, nor know the true Cause
 " of it."

The

* Vide *Spittal Sermon*, April 26, 1709. p. 10. &c.

The Idea is full, and the Comparifon a curious Illustration of the fecret and hidden Supplies, which, by the Direction of God, feed the great Funds and Repositories of publick Charities.

IN his *Acquaintance with God, the beft Support under Afflictions*, there is something very moving and affecting, in thefe Words.

“ Off the fweet Contentment, the Tranquility, and profound Reft of Mind, that he enjoys, who is a Friend of God, and to whom God *therefore* is a Friend; who hath gotten loofe from all meaner Purfuits, and is regardless of all lower Advantages, that interfere with his great Defign of knowing and loving God, and being known and belov’d by him; who lives as in his Sight always, looks up to him in every Step of his Conduct, imitates him to the beft of his Power, believes him without Doubt, and obeys him without Referve; defires to do nothing but what is agreeable to his Will, and refolves to fear nothing beyond, or befide, his Difpleafure: In a Word, who hath refign’d all his Paflions and Apperites to him, all his Faculties and Powers, and given up his Soul to be poffeffed by him, without a Rival. Surely fuch an one has, within his Breaft, that *Divine Peace*, which paffeth all Underftanding; is inconceivable by thofe that are Strangers to it,

G

“ and

“ and unutterable, even by those on whom
 “ it rests.” † And when he comes to treat
 of the Benefit of such Religious Exercises,
 he makes the Queen, (for whose Consolation
 this Discourse was calculated) perhaps, one
 of the most compleat Complements that ever
 she heard from the Pulpit. For speaking of
 King *David's* Practice, in this Respect,
 “ ’Twas this, *says he*, that enabled him to
 “ fulfil the publick Character of a Religious,
 “ Just, and Merciful Prince, and Father of
 “ his People; ’twas this that aw’d him in
 “ his Retirements, when the Eyes of Men
 “ were far from him; that gave Life and
 “ Wings to his Devotions; that carried him
 “ thro’ various Difficulties and Temptations;
 “ that supported him under all his Troubles
 “ and Afflictions. — *When I am in Hea-*
 “ *veness, said he, I will think upon God;*
 “ *when my Heart is vexed, I will com-*
 “ *plain.*

“ He might have thought on many Things,
 “ which are usually look’d upon as Reliefs
 “ to afflicted Minds: He might have endea-
 “ vour’d to raise himself, by reflecting on the
 “ happy Circumstances of his Royal State,
 “ on his Power, and Wealth, and Worldly
 “ Splendor; on the Love and Reverence that
 “ Way

† Vide *Sermon Preach’d before the Queen*, October
 31, 1708.

“ Way paid him by his Subjects; *on his*
 “ *Fame that was gone out into all Lands,*
 “ *and on the Fear of him that was fallen*
 “ *upon all Nations;* on his Potent and Nu-
 “ merous Alliances, his Signal Success and
 “ Triumphs. But he renounces all these weak
 “ and insufficient Supports, and betakes him-
 “ self to that, which was worth them all,
 “ and which alone cou’d Administer true
 “ Comfort to him. *When I am in Heavi-*
 “ *ness, I will think upon God.* There is ve-
 ry fine Address in this Enumeration of the
 Queen’s Felicities, under the Person of King
David; and a wonderful Delicacy in tem-
 pering the Complement so, as neither to of-
 fend Modesty, nor incur the Imputation of
 Flattery; as neither to make the Hearer
 blush, nor the Speaker appear too bare-fac’d,
 in what he says.

WITH what Severity he *Reproves*, and
Chastises an Impious Nation for the Iniqui-
 ties thereof, his Sermon *on a Day of Pub-*
lick Humiliation, is a loud and lasting Testi-
 mony.

“ WHILST a Foreign War devour’d our
 “ Strength, and drain’d our Treasures, *says*
 “ *he*, still Luxury, and the Expences of
 “ Life increas’d at Home; nor were they
 “ check’d, even by our Disgraces and Mis-
 “ fortunes. Our National Humiliations were
 “ ridicul’d by impious Mock-feasts; wherein
 “ the Execrable Murder of our Martyr’d

“ Sovereign was annually Commemorated,
 “ with Circumstances of so much Indignity
 “ and Scorn, as cannot be spoken of with
 “ Decency, nor reflected on without Horror.
 “ The House of God itself hath been pro-
 “ fan’d by Riots; abominable Impurities,
 “ not to be mention’d, have been openly and
 “ daringly practic’d; *Isa. 3. 9. We have de-*
 “ *clar’d our Sin, as Sodom, and have not*
 “ *hid it.* The Fundamental Articles of our
 “ Faith, have been oppugn’d from the Press;
 “ Mysteries have been derided; the Immor-
 “ tality of the Soul hath been denied; the
 “ Christian Priesthood set at naught and vi-
 “ lified; and even the *High Priest of our*
 “ *Profession*, the Blessed Jesus himself,
 “ treated by a Blasphemous Pen, * with as
 “ much Scorn and Malice, as when he ap-
 “ pear’d before the Bar of *Pilate. Hath a*
 “ *Nation so us’d their Gods, which are yet*
 “ *no Gods?* Or so vilified the Persons, which
 “ belong’d to their Worship and Service? *

How dark so ever this Night-Piece of
 our Iniquities may be, yet ’tis no hard Matter
 to discern the Warm and Inanimated Zeal of
 the Preacher, his Strong and Nervous Elo-
 quence, and the *Spirit* and *Power* of one of
 the ancient Prophets breaking out, and blazing
 in

* Vide a *Passage* in the Axe laid to the Root of
 Christianity, cited from a Book, Entitled, The History
 of the Growth of Deism. * See his Fast Sermon 1707-8.

in upon us, in these Reproofs and Exprobra-
tions.

I MENTION but one Sermon more, Preach'd before the *London* Clergy, in Vindication of the Doctrine of *Non-resistance*, and in Confutation of some Positions in the Reverend Mr. *Hoadley's Measures of Obedience to the Civil Magistrate*; which is wrote with such a Pure and Elegant Stile, as excells all Modern Compositions of this Kind, and seems to come up to the Dignity and Standard of the Ancients. The Man is in his Element, and at Home, as it were, while he is writing in the *Latin* Tongue; there is nothing forc'd or unnatural, nothing labour'd or affected in what he says, but every thing comes from him with that Ease and Freedom, and Volubility of Diction, that Fall of Period, and Turn of Expression, as if he had been a Native of Ancient *Rome*, Contemporary, and Rival to the Renowned *Tully*: A rare Specimen, of what he is able to do, and what the Learned World may expect from his Retirement, if he will but set himself down to write in this Language; *now*, that he has an happy Opportunity of Study, and a Cessation from all other Business, during his Life!

I should be injurious to the Merit of Dr. *Atterbury's* Writings, should I forget his Dedication of his Volume of Sermons to Sir *Jonathan Trelawney*, 1708, then Lord Bishop of *Winchester*, and Prelate of the most noble

ble Order of the Garter; wherein he has painted his Patron in the most beautiful Colours, and given us some Masterly-strokes of his exquisite Address, by way of Panegyrick. For, speaking of the Bishop's Generosity to him, "I mention not this Instance
 " of your Lordship's Goodness to me, *says*
 " *he*, with any View of distinguishing myself from others: For you have done nothing in my Case, but what you have frequently practic'd, since the Time that Divine Providence, for the good of his Church, rais'd you to the Episcopal Dignity; nothing, but what has been successively acknowledged by all those, who have prefix'd your Right Reverend Name to their Labours, from the Learned and Venerable Dr. *Pocock*, down to the mean Author of the following Sermons." Again, speaking of his free and disinterested Manner of conferring Favours: "You have been so far from ever putting any Man in Mind of what you have done for him, that you would never bear to be put in Mind of it yourself; and have not been more careful to prevent Solicitations, than to avoid Acknowledgments. You had the Thanks of your own Conscience, and you neither needed, or desired any other." Once more, speaking of his Translation to the Bishoprick of *Winchester*: "Permit me, *says he*, MY LORD, to congratulate your Accession to a See,
 " which

“ which will afford you such a Sphere of Ac-
 “ tion, as you were made to fill ; which will
 “ furnish you with many welcome Opportu-
 “ nities of doing good, of rewarding Merit,
 “ of cherishing Piety and Vertue, of encou-
 “ raging Persons, distinguish’d by their Learn-
 “ ing, their undaunted Assertion of Divine
 “ Truths, and undissembled Zeal for our
 “ admirable Constitution both in Church and
 “ State ; which will, in short, enable you
 “ to carry on all those excellent Designs, to
 “ which your Upright and Bountiful Heart is
 “ religiously inclin’d. What may we not
 “ promise Our Selves from the Influence of
 “ your Lordship’s Conduct, in so eminent a
 “ a Station ? From your known Courage and
 “ Fervency in the Cause of God, and his
 “ Church ? From the Greatness of your Mind,
 “ the Goodness of your Intentions, and the
 “ Soundness of your Principles ? From that
 “ Habitual Love of *worthy Deeds*, which
 “ you contracted so early, and have by long
 “ Practice confirm’d ? And from your Expe-
 “ rience of the Success that has attended you
 “ in all you have suffer’d and done for the
 “ Publick. ” And so he goes on in Strains
 of Eloquence, and Turns of Compliment,
 that a *Pliny* himself might not be asham’d
 of, had he liv’d in our Days, in our Nation,
 and understood *English*, as well as this ex-
 cellent Orator.

HITHERTO

HITHERTO we have consider'd Dr. *Atterbury* as a Person of great Learning and Ingenuity, a fine Writer, and a fine Preacher; and from the whole, we must be forc'd to make the same Judgment of him, as did his Learned Friend Dr. *Smalridge*, late Bishop of *Bristol*, when, upon his presenting him to the Upper House of Convocation, as Prolocutor, he stiles him *Vir in nullo Literarum genere hospes, in plerisque Artibus & Studiis diu & feliciter Exercitatus, in maxime perfectis Literarum Disciplinis perfectissimus*. One who is well acquainted "with all Parts of Literature, long and " successfully exercis'd in most Arts and Studies, and most accomplish'd and perfect " in those Sciences which admit of the great- " est Perfection." In his Controversial Capacity, he was sometimes too severe upon his Adversary; but this is imputable to the natural Fervor of his Wit, more than any Bitterness of Mind or Propense Malice. *Sit igitur venia, sit laudi, sit gratitudini Locus*; (as his Friend speaks for him) *si quid forte asperius, si quid ardentius, si quid liberius effuderit; Lector paulo humanior id non Odio, non livori, nec arrogantiae tribuit; sed aut ingenio su apte Naturam aliquantulum praeservido, aut fortasse Iracundiae, in milite pro aris focisque acriter dimicante, in filio ab injuriâ & vi Matrem suam eripiente, facile ignoscendae. Quod si plures in illius Scriptis*
effulgent

effulgent Virtutes, si Res tractaverit cognitu difficiles, utiles, jucundas; si eas validissimis argumentis firmaverit, si puro ac dilucido sermone in ipsis Legentium animis inscripserit, eruditioni apud eruditos, Eloquentia apud disertos suus constet bonos. i.e.

“ Be there then Room left for Pardon, for
 “ Praise, for Gratitude? If some sharp,
 “ warm, or free Expressions have come from
 “ him, a Reader of any Humanity will not
 “ attribute them to Envy, Resentment, or
 “ Arrogance, but to a Temper of itself too
 “ warm, or perhaps to Passion, easily pardon-
 “ able in a Soldier, who contended for all
 “ that is dear to us, in a Son endeavouring to
 “ rescue his Mother from Injury and Violence.
 “ But if there is an Overballance of Beau-
 “ ties in his Writings; if he has treated of
 “ Things in themselves difficult, useful, plea-
 “ sing; if he has confirm'd them by the
 “ strongest Arguments; if he has imprinted
 “ them in the Mind of the Readers by a Pu-
 “ rity and Perspicuity of Stile; it is fit that
 “ he receive the Applause to Learning
 “ from Men of Letters; from the Eloquent,
 “ the Honour due to Eloquence.

IN his Sermons, however, he is every Way
 Inexceptionable and Praise Worthy. There
 is that Exactness of Method, and Justness
 of Thought, those Weighty Arguments, Ju-
 dicious Reflections, Easy Address, and Un-
 affected Eloquence running thro' the Whole,

as denote him the celebrated Preacher that he was, and not undeserving this Commendation of his Friend : *Quo Audientium plausu apud Populum, apud Magistratum, apud Clerum, apud Senatores, apud Aulicos è Rostris frequenter concionatus est ; Qua facundiâ & Mariæ in cælum jam receptæ aures sæpe demulsit, & Sororis animum gravi ac recenti dolore fere oppressum recreavit !*

“ With what Applause has he often preach’d
 “ before the People, the Magistrates, the
 “ Clergy, the Senate, and the Court ! How
 “ oft has the late Queen MARY (now gather’d to the Saints above) been charm’d
 “ with his Eloquence ! And what Address
 “ did he use in tempering the Soul of her
 “ * SISTER, when She was almost oppress’d and overcome by her late Affliction. †” The Truth is, his Talent, in this Regard, was so very remarkable, that it may not be improperly said, that he owed his Preferment to the Pulpit, nor any hard Matter to trace him, thro’ his Writings, to his several Promotions in the Church.

In the Year 1692, when he was only *Student of Christ-Church*, he preach’d before Queen MARY, on the 29th of May, a Sermon about *The Duty of Praise and Thanksgiving*,

* *Queen Anne.*

† *The Death of the Prince of Denmark.*

Thanksgiving, which, in all Probability, recommended him to be *Chaplain to their Majesties* : And it was his famous Discourse on *The Power of Charity to Cover Sin*; that induc'd the Governors of *Bridewell-Hospital* to chuse him their Preacher, and afterwards recommend him to the Lectureship of *St. Brigit's*.

WHILE he continu'd in this Station, the Convocation-Controversy sprung up, and his *Vindication of the Rights, Powers, and Priviledges*, of that *Venerable Body*, (which he publish'd in 1700) gain'd him great Applause among his Brethren, and prov'd a successful Step to his Preferment afterwards.

IN the Year 1701, he preach'd before the *Hon. House of Commons*, and gave such an accurate Description of our *Constitution*, both *Civil* and *Ecclesiastical*, and such a fine Commendation of King WILLIAM, as was a great Means to continue him *Chaplain* after the Queen's Decease, and when others were remov'd from that Honourable Office.

QUEEN ANNE, upon her Accession to the Throne, made him her Chaplain, and advanc'd him afterwards to the Deanary of *Carlisle*, very probably, for the *Amiable Character* he had given her in his Sermon before the *House of Commons*, on the 8th of *March* 1703-4.

SIR *Jonathan Trelawney*, then Lord Bishop of *Exeter*, made him Archdeacon of *Totness*, and Canon-Residentary of *Exeter* 1707, for the Reason he assigns in his Elegant Dedication to that Prelate, and wherein he has made him an ample Amends. "These
 " Favours, says he, were not the Effects of
 " Importunity, or the just Rewards of Do-
 " mestick Service; they sprung not from
 " Dependance or Acquaintance, being be-
 " stow'd on One who was little known to
 " your Lordship, otherwise than by his ho-
 " nest Endeavours *to retrieve the Synodical*
 " *Rights of the Clergy*, whereof, You, my
 " Lord, have been all along, to Your Great
 " Honour, the avow'd Patron and Defen-
 " der.*

SIR *John Trevor*, a great Discerner of Men and their Abilities, was so struck with his Fame, and charm'd with his Eloquence, that he made him Preacher of the *Rolls-Chapel* in 1709.

THE Convocation of the Clergy chose him unanimously their Prolocutor 1710, in thankful Remembrance of what Honour he had done them, when he *magnify'd their Office*, and evinc'd the Dignity of the Priesthood, in a florid Discourse *before the Sons of the Clergy*, not many Months before.

'Tis

* Vide, *Dedication of his Volume of Sermons*.

'Tis certain, that his *Elegant* and *Pathetic* Sermon upon the Death of P. GEORGE, design'd to move the Passions, and calculated for the Consolation of the Queen, had this Effect, that it gain'd him the Deanary of *Christ-Church* 1711, notwithstanding the Competition of Dr. *Smalldige*, no Contemptable Candidate, and the warm Applications that, by Men of Power and Authority, were made in his Behalf; and 'tis not unlikely that the Remembrance of the same Sermon plead- ed in his Favour, and mightily befriended the Earl of *Oxford's* Recommendation of him: When the Queen was pleas'd, in the Year 1713, to promote him to the Bishop- rick of *Rochester*, the Height of his Prefer- ment, but not of his Ambition, for 'twas the *Primacy of all England* that he ultimately aim'd at; and, had not the QUEEN'S unex- pected Death prevented him, his Schemes were laid so well, as to have carry'd it.

THUS happily was Dr. *Atterbury* endow'd with the Gifts of Nature, and the Embellish- ments of Erudition: He had an Affluence of Fortune, and the Favour of Great Men; the Applause of his *Brethren*, and the Pa- tronage of two *Crowned Heads* to glory in; a Tide of Preferments successively coming in upon him, and a Sphere of Action, consi- dering his several Dignities in the Church, commensurate to his Spirit. Add to this, that he was really prosperous in his Family,
having

having but one Son, a Youth of pregnant Parts, and advantageously seated in the University of *Oxford*, and but one Daughter, remarkably dutiful, and happily marry'd to a Man of Worth and Consideration in the World ; and we cannot but think, that a Person in these Circumstances, and attended with such Blessings, both Spiritual and Temporal, might have been content with his Condition ; at least, might *have study'd to be Quiet, and Done his own Business*, whatever became of his Usefulness to the *Publick*, and *adorning the Doctrine of Christ in all Things*. But the Misfortune was, he wanted one Thing, he wanted Humility, and had too much of a contrary *Passion*, to make him easy and contented in any State of Life. “ 'Tis the proud Man, (says a
 “ very excellent Author) that thinks himself
 “ worthy of all Honours, and fit for all
 “ Employments, and competent for all
 “ Charges ; and this makes him aspire, and
 “ grasp at all : This makes him mount, till
 “ he becomes giddy with the Height ; till
 “ he forgets *how*, and *by whom*, and *to what*
 “ *Purpose*, he ascended ; and hence necessarily
 “ he becomes vain, and rash, and mischievous,
 “ and ungrateful in his Station. 'Tis the
 “ proud Man, who, as he thinks he merits
 “ all he gets, so he repines at all he misses ;
 “ and this makes him discontented and en-
 “ vious, and so highly unjust, as to think
 “ his

“ his private Disappointments a sufficient Title for him to quarrel, and move, and overturn the World. ’Tis the proud Man, lastly, that is censorious and calumniating, and undutiful in all Relations ; and the Reason hereof is this, because the Progress is natural from an Opinion of ourselves to the despising of others ; as natural, as it is for a Bladder to mount above the Water, when once it is fill’d with Wind. †

I HAVE hitherto done all imaginable Justice to Dr. *Atterbury*’s Character ; and that I may not be thought to injure him in this Particular, I shall set before my Reader (which is the next Light we are to view him in) some Passages in his Private, and some Transactions in his Publick Capacity ; as soon as he was invested with any Degree of Authority, and consequently in a Condition to exert his *Spirit*.

UPON the Nomination of Dr. *Grahme* from the Deanary of *Carlisle* to that of *Bath* and *Wells*, Dr. *Atterbury* was appointed to succeed him. But either thro’ an Ignorance of the common Forms of intitling himself to his new Preferment, or (what I rather imagine) thro’ an over-hastiness to see himself in Possession of it, he took out his Instruments before his Predecessor had resign’d it

† See Young’s *Sermons*.

it. A Mistake that he afterwards endeavour'd to rectify in a very extraordinary Manner.

To let my Reader, in some Measure, into the Knowledge of this, he is to be inform'd, that Mr. *Nicholson*, now Bishop of *Londonderry*, in his second Volume of his Historical Library of *England*, had describ'd Conventions, as *Synods meeting at the Summons of their President, prorogueable by him at his Pleasure, and liable to the Pains and Penalties enacted by the Statute of Submission in Hen. VIII's Time, upon their Disobedience*. This brought upon him the Severity of Dr. *Atterbury's* Pen, in his Book of the *Rights, Powers, and Privileges of an English Convocation*. Mr. *Nicholson* had, by his Historical Library, got himself great Reputation: He had been, during King *William's* Reign, a firm Party-man, and *High*, as we call it, in his Principles of Church-Polity. But some Persons, for whom Dr. *Atterbury* writ, were so highly offended at this free Declaration of his, that *now*, he was to be run down, his Learning vilify'd, his Skill in the Northern Languages (in which, after Dean *Hickes*, he was deservedly esteem'd the greatest Man in *England*) ridicul'd, and himself treated as a cunning temporizing Man, and apostate from the Truth. It was not long, however, before he came to *London*, and, in the Year 1701,

pub-

publish'd a Pamphlet in his own Vindication, which not only clear'd him of all injurious Imputations, but gain'd him fresh Credit likewise, and a full Declaration in his Favour from those, that had any Knowledge in *Saxon* Literature. Dr. *Smith* liv'd not long after King *William*, and Sir *Christop. Musgrave*, who had then a sufficient Interest at Court, recommended Mr. *Nicholson* to the vacant Bishoprick of *Carlisle* very powerfully, and prevail'd. Mr. *Nicholson* was then no more than Master of Arts, and therefore he apply'd to his own University for his Doctor's Degree, an usual Compliment paid to Persons rais'd by the Crown to such an Exaltation in the Church; but they deny'd it him, tho' nominated, if not consecrated Bishop, even when they had voluntarily given it to Dr. *Atterbury*, but just before. The *Oxonians*, however, bethought themselves at last, and sent him his Degree by a *Diploma*, when it was too late, as he was going into his own Country, and after he had obtain'd it at *Cambridge*, upon proper Recommendations. These Transactions nettled Bishop *Nicholson* not a little; and when he perceiv'd that Dr. *Atterbury*, soon after, was put into the Deanary of *Carlisle*, with a Design, as he suppos'd, to curb and insult him, he was resolv'd but barely to do him Justice, and no more than what was his Duty. What therefore he demanded of the

new-appointed Dean, when first he came to wait on him, was a formal Resignation from Dr. *Graham*, of the Deanary, which, he told him, he could not admit him to, till he had. The Dean seem'd to laugh at this Demand, as being conscious of his Strength, and the Support he had from Secretary *Hedges*, and other great Men above. But the Bishop was obstinate ; “ he knew of no Law, prohibiting any Man to hold two Deanaries “ at the same Time, nor any Person, of sufficient Power, to controul him in the Exercise of his Episcopal Authority ;” and so the poor Dean, to his no small Mortification, was kept a whole Month at *Carlisle*, unadmitted, and slightly regarded, till the Resignation, insisted on, was produc'd. This Resignation, however, upon Examination, was found to have a Flaw in it, which, upon his Return to *London*, he endeavour'd to rectify, as we said, *in a very extraordinary Manner*. He saw, that the Date of the Resignation was almost a Month subsequent to that of *his* Collation, which render'd the *latter* null and invalid ; and therefore he took this Method to amend it, which, if it had succeeded, must have run into a more extravagant Error.

FOR on the 9th of *January*, 1704, Mr. Dean of *Carlisle*, by the Interest of Mr. *S---*, invites the Dean of *Wells* his Predecessor to a *certain Place*, that was to make
the

the Plot the more successful : At this Place, and in some singular Company, on *January* 10, he desires the Dean of *Wells* to Antedate his Resignation ; and instead of the 5th of *August*, to date it on the 8th of *July*, that so it might be reconcil'd to his Letters-Patents of Collation.

THE Dean of *Wells*, at the first Motion, thought this to be a very odd Proposal, and before he could think of coming into it, he desir'd a Day's Time to consider of it. Within that Time, he prudently consults with an able Civilian and other Friends, and receives from them this Advice, " That Dr. *Atterbury*'s Letters-Patents being Register'd, and " his own Resignation Inrolled in Chancery, " to offer at any Alteration of them when " they stood upon Record, would be very " Ill and Scandalous, as well as Dangerous " Practice." The Dean of *Wells* found this Opinion to be agreeable to his own Judgment, and to his Sense of Integrity and Honour ; and therefore the next Morning he sent a civil Letter to Dr. *Atterbury*, and excus'd himself from meeting on that Occasion that Day, because he could not possibly comply with his Desires of altering the Date of his Resignation. When Dr. *A.* saw that this Design would not take, there was still another Step made, that seems wider than the other : For a Friend of his did, on the *Saturday* following, make a Motion to a considerable

siderable Officer in the Chancery, that the Date of the Resignation might be alter'd in the Roll itself; but this Proposal was likewise rejected, I presume, with great Indignation, as if it had been a Snare to incur the Forfeiture of a Place. And so the publick Instruments are still irregular, and the Doctor's Title Null and Void, as the World will apprehend from this strange working of his own Fears.

ALL I shall say more, is only this: In our Civil Law, that is to govern us very much in our Church Affairs, if such a Practise of the Alteration of Dates had succeeded, it must have been call'd *Crimen Falsi*; and the bare Attempt of doing it, is in the same Law *Subornatio Falsi*.

THIS Account is taken from a small Tract, entitled, *A Letter from the South, by Way of Answer to a Letter from a Northern Divine*, giving an Account of a Strange Attempt made by Dr. A---, towards antedating the Resignation of his Predecessors in the Deanary of *Carlisle*.

BUT this is not the only Instance of his Antedating Faculty. An Interest of his own, when in Prosperity, and under the gay Ideas of an advantageous Preferment coming to him, may well be presum'd to tempt him to it; when, merely to give *Sam* and *Joseph*, his trusty Servants, as he calls them, a little Place or two in *Westminster* - Abbey, he

he could reconcile it to his Conscience, † under a close Confinement, an ill State of Health, and a Temper of Mind, that should be wean'd, one would think, from such *Tricks* and *Collusions*. But of this by the By.

Dr. *Atterbury* continu'd a considerable while in the Deanary of *Carlisle*, battling and squabbling with the Bishop, in a very scandalous Manner, as the Papers of those Times give us an Account ; but the Bishop prov'd too hard for him, and foil'd him in every Attack ; the Chapter forsook him, and, except Dr. *Todd*, as I remember, oppos'd his Proceedings : so that, he grew weary of the Place, made it for some Time a perfect *Sine-cure*, and at length obtain'd a Remove.

I HAVE dwelt the longer on this Northern Affair, because, both the Time and Scene of Action being so distant, it may possibly be a Piece of History, that few People are acquainted

† See the Appendix of the Papers relating to the Bishop of Rochester, Pag. 52, where there is this Passage : " Since I know not what may happen to me, I am determin'd, while I am possess'd of all my Rights, as Dean, to fill up the two vacant Places, that are, without Controversy, in my sole Gift ; and to that End, shall enclose a Paper, dated at some Distance of Time, which you may put in the Sub-Dean's Hands, and desire him to produce, when there is a proper Occasion." You need not let him know, it was not written when dated, nor how long you have had it in your Custody.

acquainted with ; and I meant it too, for a thorough Specimen, once for all, of the Doctor's Temper and Disposition, being willing to pass by many Instances, like these in his Private Life, as a Work of too invidious a Nature, for any Writer to be too prolix in.

FROM the Deanary of *Carlisle* he was remov'd to that of *Christ-Church*, and set over a great and flourishing College, where he himself had receiv'd his Education, and consequently many interfering Obligations to study the Quiet and Prosperity of the Place. But no sooner was he settled there, 'till *all* ran into Disorder and Confusion. The Canons had been long accusom'd to the mild and gentle Government of a Dean †, who had every Thing in him that was endearing to Mankind, and could not therefore brook the wide Difference that they perceiv'd in Dr. *Atterbury*. That imperious and despotick Manner, in which he seem'd resolv'd to carry every Thing, made them more tenacious of their Rights, and inclinable to make fewer Concessions, the more he endeavour'd to grasp at Power, and Tyrannize. This Opposition rais'd the Ferment, and, in a short Time, there ensu'd such Strife and Contention, such bitter Words, and scandalous Quarrels among them, that 'twas

† Dr. Aldrich.

'twas thought adviseable to remove *him*, on Purpose to restore Peace and Tranquillity to that *learned* Body, and that other Colleges might not take the Infection. A new Method of obtaining Preferment, by indulging such a Temper, and pursuing such Practices, as least of all deserve it!

IN a Word, (for I am minded to pursue him no farther thro' his almost innumerable Quarrels and Conflicts) where-ever he came, under one Pretence or other, but chiefly under the Notion of asserting his Rights and Privileges, he had a rare Talent at fomenting Discord, and blowing the Coals of Contention, which made a Learned * Successor, in two of his Preferments, complain of his hard Fate, in being forc'd to carry Water after him, to extinguish the Flames, which his Litigiousness had every where occasion'd.

THE Truth is, his Temper was chiefly made up of *Irafcible* Qualities, and had very little in it of that mild and merciful, that peaceable and forgiving, that tender and compassionate Spirit, which the Scripture recommends, as the Chief Characteristicks of a good Christian. His Resentment of Injuries was quick and lasting, his Remembrance of Favours done him, soon gone. The Instruments of his Advancement, he us'd

* Dr. Smalridge.

us'd to call *Scaffolding* ; what Wood it was made of he matter'd not, and what became of it, when the House was built, and his Turn serv'd, concern'd not him ; and accordingly, this Imputation is left upon his Gratitude, that there are few or none of his Friends and Patrons, but what, at one Time or other, he hath quarrell'd with : His Inclination to do kind Offices was not great ; and when he did any, 'twas generally with such Reserve and Unwillingness, and after such a Course of Teazing and Importunity, as extinguish'd the Obligation every where, but in his own Breast : *There* his Services were held Meritorious, and a great deal was usually plac'd to the Account of him, he had any Way befriended.

BUT I must not forget the Resolution I laid down to myself of not entering into his Private Character, any farther, than what is necessary to illustrate the Temper and Inclination of his Mind.

---*Vitiis nemo sine nascitur, optimus ille
Qui minimis urgetur.* * ---

AND so we go on to take a View of him now, in his *Publick* and *Political* Capacity.

IT

* Hor. Saty. 3 Lib. 1.

It was not long after the Revolution, when Dr. *Atterbury* appear'd in the World, and had furnish'd himself with such *Principles*, as then generally prevail'd, and do still support our *happy Constitution*. In the Preface to his Answer to Dr. *Wake*, he gives us a full Declaration of these *Principles*, occasion'd, as we may imagine, by some injurious Insinuations against him. “ *Disaffection*, says he, *to the Government*, as the Charge is usually manag'd, is a Word, only made Use of by those, that are in Favour, to keep others out : It is a Reproach taken up, on Purpose to justify premeditated Designs of oppressing Men ; for so the Soldier said, that the Countryman whistled Treason, when he had resolv'd to plunder him ; *and then he goes on* : If, to be a true Lover of *England*, its Monarchy, and Episcopacy ; If to have the utmost Esteem for the Heroick Qualities, and Matchless Merits of our Prince ; and to think no Instance of Respect and Duty, that Subjects can pay him, too great, while they take Care to preserve their *own Rights and Privileges* ; If to prefer the true Interest of the *Protestant Religion*, and the Preservation of our *Civil Liberties*, to all Considerations, and for these (among other) Ends, to pray heartily for the Continuance of our *present Government*, both in Church and State ; If these

“ be Instances, and Marks of *Disaffection*,
 “ then I must own myself *Disaffected*, and
 “ not otherwise.” In those publick Discour-
 ses, wherein he may be suppos’d to discover
 his Political Sentiments, we always find him
 on the Side of the Revolution ; highly com-
 mending the PRINCE *in Being*, and the
 Form of Government under which we live ;
 openly declaiming against Popery and Su-
 perstition ; using, with some Freedom, the
 late King of FRANCE, and making no Man-
 ner of Compliment to the PRETENDER.
 “ To this Deliverance, (says he, in a Ser-
 “ mon preach’d before the QUEEN on the 5th
 “ of *November*) to this Day’s *double Deli-*
 “ *verance*, it is owing, that we are freed
 “ from the Fears of Papal Superstition and
 “ Bondage ; that we enjoy all our Religi-
 “ ous and Civil Liberties, all that is dear
 “ and valuable to us, in Respect of this
 “ World, or another ; and even that we
 “ see *her* on the Throne, (the Throne of
 “ her Royal Ancestors, design’d this Day for
 “ Slaughter) who, by sitting *there*, protects
 “ and secures us in all these Enjoyments.
 “ You are the Descendants of those, (says he
 “ in his Sermon before the Sons of the Cler-
 “ gy) who, as they have shut out Popery
 “ in the most effectual Manner, by only
 “ paring off those Corruptions it had grafted
 “ on pure and genuine Christianity ; so did
 “ they stand boldly in the Breach, when
 “ it

" it meditated a Return, and for ever si-
 " lenc'd the Champions of that baffled Cause,
 " by their immortal and unanswerable Wri-
 " tings. So that *you*, their *Sons*, were at
 " the Altar itself, (if I may so speak) *ini-*
 " *tiated* by your Fathers, as the Great *Car-*
 " *thaginian* was by his, into an *Heredi-*
 " *tary Aversion* to *Rome*." And once
 more, speaking of the late King of *France*
 in his Fast-Sermon, before the Lord-Mayor,
 1707, " The Haughty Monarch, says he,
 " whose Heart, God at last, by our Means,
 " hath humbled, was grasping at Universal
 " Empire, preparing Chains for the Necks
 " of Free States and Princes, and laying
 " Schemes for suppressing the Ancient Li-
 " berties, and removing the Ancient Boun-
 " daries of Kingdoms. Nor was he satis-
 " fy'd in subduing Mens Bodies, unless he
 " enslav'd their Souls also, and made the
 " pure Profession of the Gospel give Way
 " to *Superstition and Idolatry*, wherever he
 " had Power to expel the one, and establish
 " the other. Nay, he pretended to give
 " Laws even to our *Succession* here at Home,
 " and to impose a PRINCE upon us, who
 " should execute the Designs He had form'd
 " against our *Civil and Religious Liberties*."
 These, and many more Passages, to the same
 Purpose, that might be extracted out of his
 Writings, are enough to convince us, that
 Dr. *Atterbury*, at first, set out into the World

with the Principles of a *Whig*, highly satisfy'd with the Reasons of the *Revolution*, and the Justness of the *Protestant Succession*, and so continu'd for some considerable Time of his Life. How he came to alter his Sentiments, and join himself to a *different Party*, may possibly be resolv'd into *that restless Ambition*, which increas'd with his Exaltation, and had some concurring Circumstances, at that Time, to inflame it.

It was in the latter End of the Queen's Reign, when Dr. *Atterbury* was promoted to the See of *Rochester*, at a Time, when his Friends were in full Possession of Power, and Designs were carrying on, at least by some of 'em, highly prejudicial to the *Protestant Succession*. The TREASURER seem'd to act the wary Part ; and, as if he had been poising the *two Successions* in his Hand to find out which weigh'd heavier, before he determin'd his Choice : For this Reason, He kept Mr. *Harley* Residentiary at *Hanover*, and disclos'd a Correspondence of a Dangerous Consequence to the King, even while he gave Encouragement to Sir *Pat. Lawles*, the Abbot *Gaultier*, and other of the Pretender's Agents here at Home. But the SECRETARY was more open in his Proceedings ; and, what is to be lamented, drew a *Person of excellent Worth and Consideration*, whom he had made a *Tool* in the last Campaign or Two, into the same Confederacy with him,
and

and now as *jocundly* has left him in the *Lurch*: He not only gave up all the Advantages of a *Prosperous* and *Expensive* War into the Enemies Hands, by a *Destructive* and *Pernicious* Peace, but under the Pretence of adjusting some disputed Articles in the Treaty, made frequent Journies into FRANCE, and frequent Visits to the PRETENDER; had settled the Terms of his Succession in private Conferences, and was fitting out an *Embassy* to give a publick Sanction to it.

A Person of Dr. *Atterbury's* Principles, may be suppos'd to be startled a little, when he found himself in such Company, and when such Proceedings were on Foot; but the common Sophistry which then prevail'd, *viz.*

“ That the PRETENDER was, in his Heart,
 “ no Papist, however necessitated to profess
 “ himself so, while he liv'd in a foreign
 “ Country, and by the Contributions of
 “ those of that Religion: That as soon as
 “ he return'd, and had gain'd an Independ-
 “ dency, he would have Leisure to examine,
 “ and had Judgment enough to discover the
 “ Fallacy of it: That, *however*, he would
 “ not fail to call a free Parliament, where-
 “ in our Civil, as well as our Religious
 “ Rights, should receive their Confirmation;
 “ wherein the Church should be estab-
 “ lish'd in full Power, Consciences truly
 “ tender indulg'd, and Property of every
 “ Kind

“ *Kind more inviolably secur’d than ever.*” (As the Penner of his Declaration, suppos’d to be a lately-return’d Vis—nt, sets the Matter out Gloriously.) This common Sophistry, I say, as it was then infectious, might possibly catch Dr. *Atterbury*, (as well as it did other warm Heads, which have since retracted their Error) and being often inculcated with strong asseverations, reconcile him, at length, to a Cause, which at first might not please him so well, as being repugnant to his former Notions.

THERE was, moreover, another Temptation hard at Hand, that might contribute not a little to blind the *Eyes of his Understanding*. *Lambeth* was just opposite to *Westminster*, and the Prospect of Power and Primacy among his Brethren, as well as the Sight of a spacious Palace, was scarce to be resisted: The Archbishop was grown very infirm, and, according to the Course of Nature, could not subsist long: The QUEEN had conceiv’d a good Opinion of Dr. *Atterbury*, and her *Successor*, for ought he knew, might entertain a *Better*: The Treasurer was apparently his Friend, and the rest of the Ministry might promise him their Concurrence. The only Rival he had to dread, was Dr. *Robinson*, lately return’d from the Congress of *Utrecht*, and big with Expectances from the *little Merit* he had in negotiating a *Scandalous Peace*. His Character

racter, however, declin'd apace ; and those who had advanc'd him to the Bishoprick of *London*, before his Return, were so much ashamed of him, when they came to detect his Ignorance and Hebetude, and Incompetency for *that Charge*, that they wish'd him any where out of Sight, at *Sweden*, or *Denmark* again, to reside and Merchandize, or write his short Histories just as he pleas'd, rather than disparage their Recommendation by his daily and visible Insufficiency ; so that there was no great Appearance of Danger from that Quarter.

IN this Situation was Dr. *Atterbury's* Affairs ; expecting either a Translation to the Primacy of *Canterbury*, in Case of a Vacancy, or, what he might covet as much, an Accession of some Secular Dignity (the Privy-Seal was then very much talk'd of) to the Prelacy, that he had ; when, all on a Sudden, God sent out among the Chief of the Ministry a Spirit of Discord and Confusion, to bring to *Naught* the *Babel* they were raising, and to hasten their own Destruction. The Occasion of this Disagreement among them is not so well known, we think proper to ascribe it to an *immediate Direction of Providence*. But however it was, in that Conflict for Power, Lord *Bo——ke* had the Superiority, Lord *Ox——rd* had the White Staff taken from him, and the Bishop was left to follow what Party he lik'd most, which,

which, at that Time, prov'd the *Victorious*. By this Breach, however, among the *Great Ones*, their Measures were disconcerted, their Mutual Confidence lost, and their Affairs run to such Distraction, that notwithstanding the dangerous State of the QUEEN's Health, which encreas'd daily, and threaten'd them with the worst of Consequences; yet, they cou'd never again cement, or form any compact Body, or enter into any settled Resolutions, until the QUEEN died, and the Act of Succession (as in this general Confusion, there was none bold enough to Gain-say it) had its Effect, and took Place. The Truth is, if there was a Design to set aside the *Protestant Succession* in the *Illustrious House* of HANOVER, those, who were suspected to be most deeply concern'd in it, bore their Disappointment with a good Grace: They seem'd as well satisfy'd with his Majesty's peaceable Accession to the Throne, and attended the Solemnity of his Proclamation with as chearful a Look as any; tho' some will not stick to say, that there were many Aching Hearts under Smiling and Hypocritical Countenances on that Day. However that be, 'tis certain, that, in a short Time, they recover'd themselves so far from their Fright, as to lay no small Claim to the King's Favour. " The King, they gave out, intend-
 " ed to become an universal *Father* to his
 " People, and not to caress any particular
 " Party :

" Party : His Religion, said they, was
 " nearest a Kin to the Church of *England*,
 " and most consonant to those high Doctrines
 " in it, that they profess'd ; and the Form
 " of his Government Abroad, cou'd not but
 " countenance their Notions of *Passive Obe-*
 " *dience*, and other Exaltations of the Royal
 " Prerogative." Upon these Presumptions,
 they promis'd themselves an equal Share, if
 not a Superiority above their Fellow-Subjects,
 in the KING's Affections ; and accordingly
 none were speedier in their Congratulations,
 and warmer in their Oblations of Service,
 than they. The Lord Viscount *Bo---g---ke*
 was not only one, that first sign'd the *Royal*
Proclamation, but sent an Early Account
 thereof to the Court of *Hanover*, with great
 Expressions of Joy, and Tenders of his Duty,
 however he came soon after to be remov'd
 from his Office of Secretary of State. The
 Earl of *M---* writ an artful Letter to his
 Majesty, dated *August 30*, O. S. 1714, de-
 siring *him not to Credit any Misrepresenta-*
tion, which Party-Hatred might possibly
make of him, but to accept him, for as
faithful and dutiful a Subject and Servant,
as ever any of his Family had been to the
Crown, or himself to his late Mistress the
QUEEN. The Duke of *O-----d* went to
 wait upon the King, in all the State and
 Magnificence imaginable, upon his first land-
 ing at *Greenwich*, and even *outdid himself*,

as well as the rest of the Nobility, in the Splendor of his Equipage, to testify his greater Reverence and Respect; but was soon given to understand, *that his Majesty had no longer Occasion for his Service, in the Quality of Captain-General, but would be glad to see him at Court.* The Earl of Ox----d, tho' he was not in Company the Night the King Landed, was one of the Earliest next Morning, in Hopes of a Kinder Reception, from the Sense of some *Secret Practices*; but 'twas with much ado, that he obtain'd the bare Honour of Kissing his Hand, without ever exchanging one Word with his Majesty. Nay, the very Bishop of *Rochester*, soon after the Coronation was over, offer'd to present the King (with some View, no doubt, of standing better in his Favour) with the Chair of State and Royal Canopy, his Perquisites, as Dean of *Westminster*, but the Offer being rejected, with some Neglect, it stuck to his Heart, I have been told, and turn'd to Resentment and Indignation.

THESE Instances of Insinuation and ready Address to his *Majesty*, I thought proper to mention, in order to let my Reader see, that Pride, Ambition, and a disappointed Hope, were the true Motives of such Men's Disaffection; That the greatest Tories in the Nation would have serv'd his *Majesty* very willingly, had he continu'd them in their Offices and Administrations; That they *then*
begun

begun to meditate a Revolt, when they found their Prince's Favour alienated, and Places of Power and Emolument confer'd on others; That the *Pretender*, consequently, owes them no great Thanks for their present Allegiance to him, when the first Fruits of it were so liberally offer'd to another; has no great Reason to depend on their Fidelity, who have made him no more than a Center to their Disgusts, and a common Refuge in Distress; nor any Confidence to place in their Services, which spring from Necessity more than Choice, and may at any Time be withdrawn by any *Act* of Grace, and Revocation of *Attainders*.

Qui tali Auxilio, & Defensoribus istis Indiget, ille miser.

THE Party finding themselves thus excluded from the King's Favour, and destitute of all Hopes of attaining their Employments again, resolv'd upon other Measures, and betook themselves to another *Master*. *Bo-----ke* and *Or-----d* made their Escapes into *France*, and thence threaten'd *England* with a sudden Invasion: The E. of *M-----* went into the Highlands of *Scotland*, and there began a formal Rebellion: *Foster*, in *Northumberland*, was actually in Arms, and many more Conspirators were ripe for an Insurrection: The *Pretender's* Declaration, artfully

fully penn'd enough, and adapted to the prevailing Discontents of the Nation, was posted up in most Market-Towns, and, in some Places, his Title proclaim'd. In this Juncture of Affairs, 'twas thought needful, by most *Bodies* of Men, to give the Government all possible Assurance of their Fidelity and Allegiance; and accordingly there was publish'd a Declaration of the *Archbishop* of Canterbury, *and the Bishops in, and near, London, testifying their Abhorrence of the present Rebellion; and an Exhortation to the Clergy and People under their Care, to be zealous in the Discharge of their Duties to his Majesty King GEORGE.*

BUT this Declaration the Bp. of *Rocheſter* refus'd to ſign, and drew a very *worthy* and *well-affected Prelate*, † I dare ſay, into the ſame Refuſal. “ What! ſhall I ſign a Paper,
 “ ſays he with himſelf, for the Benefit of
 “ thoſe that will do nothing for me? Shall
 “ I recognize the Title of him that has al-
 “ ready diſcarded me from his Favour and
 “ good Eſteem? Shall I diſcountenance an Un-
 “ dertaking that may perhaps turn up *Trump*
 “ for me at laſt? What will my good Friend,
 “ the D. of *Or----* ſay, if he ſhould come
 “ and ſee my Hand to this infamous Libel?
 “ How will he upbraid my Puſillanimity and
 “ Want of Gratitude, to enter into any Com-
 “ bination againſt him, and how muſt the
 “ PRETENDER look upon thoſe *that do all this*;

† *Biſhop Smalridge.*

" that pray against him, that address a-
 " gainst him, that swear against him, and
 " abjure him upon every Turn? At other
 " Times there may be a Dispensation for
 " these Things, but this is a Critical Jun-
 " cture, and none knows who may be up-
 " permost, and therefore e'en fight Dog fight
 " Bear, *Ego propria in pelle qui Escam.*"

This, certainly, was the Hidden Language
 of the Man, and the true Reason of his not
 coming into the *Declaration*, tho' the pre-
 tended one was, a just Offence taken at
 some Unbecomming Reflections cast upon a
 Party, that were not inferior to any, in Point
 of Loyalty, as he said. The Passage is this:
*We are the more concern'd, that both the
 Clergy and People of our Communion should
 shew themselves hearty Friends to the Go-
 vernment upon this Occasion, to vindicate
 the Honour of the Church of England, be-
 cause the Chief Hopes of our Enemies seem
 to arise from Discontents artificially rais'd
 amongst us, and because* " some who have va-
 " lu'd themselves, and have been too much
 " valu'd by others, for a pretended Zeal for
 " the Church, have join'd with Papists in
 " these wicked Attempts, " *which, as they
 must ruine the Church, if they succeed, so
 they cannot well end without great Re-
 proach to it, if the Rest of us do not clear-
 ly and heartily declare our Detestation of
 such Practices.* The Reader may judge,
 whether

whether there be any Thing in these Words so exceptionable, as to countenance such a Behaviour, at such a Time, had there not been some other Purposes to be serv'd by such an Act of Disloyalty.

THAT Rebellion, however, was happily quell'd by his Majesty's wise Counsels, and successful Arms, conducted by the Duke of *Argyl* in *Scotland*, and the Lord *Carpenter* in *England*, two consummate GENERALS, train'd to the Art and Glories of War from their Youth ; carrying Terror in their very Names, and commanding Victory, wherever they led such courageous Troops, under the Auspices of so good a KING.

AFTER *this*, the Land was at Rest, 'bating some small Troubles at the Subsiding of such a Ferment, and the moderate Severity, inflicted on such as were Principals in the Rebellion, deterr'd some from the like Attempt, and reduc'd others to a better Mind. Those, however, who had escap'd from Justice into other Countries, uneasy in Exile, and impatient of Return, were always plotting something against the Government, they had their Friends and Agents here, Zealous enough to serve them, but stunn'd a little at their late Disaster, and not recover'd enough as yet, to put their Projects in Execution. Mens Fears must be forgot, and their Courage return, before they can be put upon a Second Desperate Enterprize, after a
tho-

thorough Defeat once. Something must be done, too, to alarm the Passions and angry Resentments of a People, before a Conspiracy can be feasible, or any Invasion meet with Encouragement and Abettors. This retarded the Enemies Designs so long ; but when they perceiv'd Things ripe for their Purpose, the Scars of the Civil War worn off, and Mens Fears asleep, thro' the Mildness of the Government, they soon sent over Instructions to their Friends, in both Houses of Parliament, in what Manner to pave the Way, and prepare the Minds of Men, before they open'd the new Scheme of their intended Invasion.

NOTHING, certainly, is so popular and spreading, as Declamations against evil Ministers, and Protestations against publick Usurpations and Wrongs. This some of the Party knew very well, and therefore set themselves to Work, in the last Session of the late Parliament, to spy out the weak Sides of the Government, and discover some false Steps, as they thought, which the best Ministry in the World, thro' the Exigency of Affairs, may sometimes be compell'd to make. The Bishop of *Rocheſter* was certainly a very active Man in this Affair : He drew up the Reasons for some of the Protests with his own Hand, and therefore it may not be amiss here, to enquire a little into the probable Views and Tendency of
such

such Proceedings. Thus, for Instance, it might be very reasonable for some Members of the House of Lords, to enquire into the *Causes* of contracting so large a Navy Debt, and the best Methods of preventing the like for the future ; * as, Whether employing great Numbers of Sea-men for several Years last past, more than are provided for by Parliament, † Whether not paying his Majesty's Ships off upon their Return from their Voyages, but continuing them in Pay during the Winter, ‡ or, Whether victualling them by any other than Victuallers appointed to that Service, be not the chief Causes of such Contractions. §§

BUT then, to tell it Abroad, as they do in the several Forms of their Protestations, That the Liberty of the Subject is grossly invaded, That the Seamen are us'd with unnatural Severity, and *kept Prisoners*, as it were, *in floating Castles*, That the Navy is hazarded, Trade endanger'd, and unnecessary Expences of the publick Money incurr'd by remote Expeditions, and intermedling with Wars that we have no concern in ; is first raising, and then speaking to, the Disgust of the People. 'Tis alienating the Affections of the People from the

* Vide *Protests of the House of Lords*, Nov. 13, 1721.

† Decemb. 5, 1721.

‡ January 13, 1721-22.

§§ February 1, 1721-22.

the King and Government, without any Colour of Reason, after a Committee appointed to inspect this Matter, had given it for their Resolution, --- *That employing more Sea-men than usual, and keeping his Majesty's Ships in Pay all Winter long, was necessary for the Safety of the Kingdom, and the Tranquillity of Europe, and not repugnant to the Advice and Approbation of Parliament.** In like manner, It might not be unbecoming the Care, or Curiosity of some Men in that House, to move for an Address to his Majesty, to lay before them the Instructions given to the Lord *Cartéret*, as Minister and Plenipotentiary to the Court of *Sweden*; † the Instructions given to Sir *George Bing* (now Lord Viscount *Torrington*) in relation to the *Spanish* Fleet in the *Mediterranean*; ‡ the Treaty of Commerce, whereby the former Treaties of Commerce are renew'd with *Spain*; §§ and the several Treaties, Instructions, and Orders, in relation to the *British* Squadrons being sent into the *Baltick* for several Years last past, to know whether the Act of Settlement has not been infring'd by these several Northern Expeditions. ** But then, to tell the People *without Doors*, when they are not able to

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* Vide *Protests of the House of Lords for the Year 1721, Jan. 25, & passim.*

† Nov. 15.

‡ Decemb. 19.

§§ Nov. 20.

** Jan. 25.

carry their Point *within*, that the Birth-right of the Peerage, to enact Laws, and enquire into the Observation of them ; The Freedom of Parliaments, and known Rules of the Constitution, are invaded ; That wicked and guilty Ministers are screen'd and embolden'd, and the King himself, in Effect, has broken his Coronation Oath ; That the War with *Spain*, begun in the Time of Peace, was unjustifiable in itself, and prejudicial to the Nation on sundry Accounts ; That the Act of Settlement was infring'd by engaging in Wars on account of the King's foreign Dominions ; and the Powers lodg'd in his Hands, are unreasonable to a great Degree, unknown to the Constitution, injurious to our common Liberty, repugnant to the Lenity of our Government, and such as render Him rather terrible than amiable to his Subjects : What is this but sowing the Seeds of Disaffection and Sedition, propagating an ill Opinion of every one in Power, and sounding a Trumpet to Men's Passions and angry Resentments ? Once more, it might be popular enough to plead for admitting the City of *London's* Petition, concerning the Amendment of the *Quarentine Act*, then depending in their House, * for admitting the Clergy of *London's* Petition, concerning

* Vide *Protests for the Year* 1721, December 6.

cerning the *Quakers Bill*, authorizing their Affirmation or Declaration to be valid, † and for rejecting such Clauses, as are for removing Persons infected with the Plague, or healthy Persons out of infected Families, to a Lazaret or Pest-house, and for drawing Lines or Trenches about any City, Town, or Place infected : ‡ But then, to become Mutinous upon a Disappointment, and to proclaim it aloud, because they are out-number'd by Votes, and because the major Part of that August Assembly chanc'd to think such Proceedings might be of dangerous Tendency, a Prelude and Example towards introducing *tumultuous Petitions* ; to proclaim it aloud, I say, that all Freedom is vanish'd, and the Liberty of Petitioning, which is the Birth-right of an *Englishman*, gone ; that Men, who think themselves under Hardships, from which they desire to be reliev'd, have reason to look upon it, as a new and greater Hardship not to be heard ; That there is a military Power erecting within the Kingdom, in Time of Peace, and such Schemes going on, as must be executed with Barbarity and military Force ; That no Man's Person is safe, or Property secure, when he may be haul'd away, and his House ranfack'd, upon every sorry Information, and the great and opulent

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City

† January 17.

‡ December 13.

City of *London* become a Prey and Booty to cruel and voracious Soldiers ; This certainly is inflaming Mens Discontent with a Witness, representing all Things near and dear to us, as lost and gone, without a bold Push to recover them, and irritating *that Great Hive of People* to issue out, arm'd, and prepar'd for Action, upon a proper call. In a Word, he that considers the Time and Manner of these Protests being publish'd, by what Hands some of them were drawn up, and with what Severity of Expression most of them are pointed, will easily perceive, that they were not so much intended to push at some particular Ministers, whose Place, in the King's Favour, was the just Reward of distinguish'd Merit, as to favour a general Insurrection and Revolt ; to tell the People, in short, that the Laws were abominably violated, their Rights and Liberties taken from them, and the whole Constitution so totally subverted, that nothing but a Revolution could repair and re-establish it ; that Matters were now come to the same *Crisis* they were in, in 1688 ; and consequently, the *Pretender* might be restor'd, for the same Reasons, and upon the same Principles, that his Father Abdicated.

THESE, certainly, were the Uses, for which, these Protests, at least by some artful Managers in the House, were design'd and calculated, and were soon discern'd to be so, by

by the Discovery of a black and dangerous Conspiraey, *carry'd on by Persons of Figure and Distinction here at Home, in Conjunction with Traitors Abroad, in order to Place the Pretender on the Throne of these Kingdoms.* Various Methods were attempted, (as the Report of the Committee of the House of Commons informs us) and various Times fix'd, for putting this Design in Execution. The first Intention was to have procur'd a regular Body of Foreign Forces to Invade these Kingdoms, at the Time of the late Elections; but the Conspirators being disappointed in this Expectation, resolv'd, next, to make an Attempt, at the Time, it was generally believ'd, his Majesty intended to go to *Hanover*, by the Help of such Officers and Soldiers, as could pass into *England* unobserv'd from Abroad, under the Command of the late Duke of *Or----*d: He was to have landed in the River, with a great Quantity of Arms, provided in *Spain* for that Purpose; the *Tower* at the same Time was to have been seiz'd, and the City of *London* made a Place of Arms: But this Design being also disappointed by many concurring Events, the Conspirators found themselves under a Necessity of deferring their Enterprize, till the breaking up of the Camp: During which Interval, they labour'd, by their Agents and Emissaries, to corrupt and seduce the Officers and Soldiers of the Army,

and

and depended so much on their Defection, as to entertain Hopes of placing the *Pretender* on the Throne, tho' they should have no Assistance from Abroad. The Government had sufficient Reason to suspect Dr. *Atterbury*, who had been at the Head of the *Protesters* to be no small Agent in this Conspiracy, and did therefore order him to be apprehended. To this Purpose, two Officers, the Under-Secretary, and a Messenger, (as we have the Matter recounted in a Letter to *Paris*, suppos'd to be wrote by Mr. *Kelly*) on *August* 24, 1722, went, about two a-Clock in the Afternoon, to the Bishop's House at *Westminster*, where he then was, with Orders to bring him, and his Papers, before the Council. He happen'd to be in his Night-Gown, when they came in, and being made acquainted with their Business, he desir'd Time to dress himself; in the mean Time his Secretary came in, and the Officers, &c. went to search for his Papers; In the sealing of which, the Messenger brought a Paper, which he pretended to have found in his Close-Stool, and desir'd that it might be seal'd up with the rest. His Lordship observing it, and believing it to be a forg'd one of his own, desir'd the Officers not to do it, and to bear Witness, that the Paper was not caught with him; but notwithstanding, they did it; and tho' they behav'd themselves with some Respect to him, yet they allow'd the Messengers to

to treat him with the utmost Insolence ; who pull'd and haul'd him about, and said, that if he did not make more Haste, and put on his Shirt, &c. they would carry him away naked as he was : Upon which, he desir'd his Secretary to see his Papers all seal'd up, and went himself directly to the Cock-pit, where the Council waited for him. How this agrees with what the Author of *the Letter to the Clergy of the Church of England* tells us, I cannot conceive, unless we can imagine, that those, who were appointed to secure him and his Papers, and at the same Time commanded to treat him with all the Respect he speaks of, forgot the Orders of their Superiors, and fell into unwarrantable Ill-usage of him, of their own Accord. However this was, when he came before the Council, He behav'd with a great deal of Calmness, and They, with much Civility towards him : He had Liberty to speak for himself as much as he pleas'd, and they listen'd to his Defence with a great deal of Attention ; and, what is more than ordinary in such Cases, after he had withdrawn, he had twice Liberty to re-enter the Council-Chamber to make for himself such Representations and Requests as he thought proper. 'Tis said, That while he was under Examination, he chanc'd to make Use of our Saviour's Answer to the Jewish Council, while he stood before them. *If I tell you, you will not believe me, and if I also*

also ask you, you will not answer me, nor let me go. Luke 22. v. 67, 68. Which, some accounted (I think without much Reason) an Arrogant Assumption in him, and a kind of Indignity put upon the Council. After three Quarters of an Hour's Stay at the Cockpit, he was sent to the *Tower* privately, in his own Coach, and without any Manner of Noise or Observation.

How he behav'd, and what Reception he had within those Walls, is neither so material, nor so certainly known, as to deserve a particular Narration; tho', if his own Account may be credited, the Usage he met with was not so commendable, as might be wish'd; for his Complaint to the House of Lords is this ----- " I have been under a
 " very long and close Confinement, and
 " have been treated with such Severity and
 " so great Indignity, as, I believe, no Pri-
 " soner in the *Tower*, of my Age and Fun-
 " ction, and Rank, ever was; by which
 " Means, what Strength and Use of my
 " Limbs I had, when I was first committed
 " in *August* last, is now so far declin'd, that
 " I am very unfit to make my Defence, a-
 " gainst a Bill of such an extraordinary Nature:
 " The Great Weakness of Body and Mind
 " under which I labour, such Usage, such
 " Hardships, such Insults, as I have under-
 " gone, might have broken a more resolute
 " Spirit, and much stronger Constitution, than
 " falls

“ falls to my Share.” And, in that Letter of his, which was intercepted 26 *February*, 1722-3, there is a Passage of very dark and ambiguous Import. “ You may, says he “ to his Friend, when you see *Br---*, impart the Story of that Villainy to him, and “ desire his Advice upon it; at what Time, “ and in what Manner, it may be proper “ for me to bring that Matter upon the Stage, “ and shew what extraordinary Methods “ are taken to *get at me*, and beg the Lords “ Protection in the Case against such vile “ Practice. I hope *William* has not given “ in to it, and then my Way will (some “ Time or other) be clearer towards a Complaint; whenever it is proper, I think the “ Rascal, my Neighbour, may be summon’d “ before the Lords, and made to tell, who “ employ’d him to proffer such Sums, and “ be punish’d by them for such Practices.”

* Who the Person is, that he stigmatizes with this Odious Character, is not so apparent; *no one*, certainly, that the Government employ’d or authoriz’d to use him ill, much less to oppress, by Methods of Violence and Corruption, as he, in the Warmth of his Resentment seems to insinuate, That Thought is abhorrent to Men of Honour and Integrity,

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* See *Appendix, In the Papers relating to the Bishop of Rochester*, p. 30.

however, an unhappy Misunderstanding between him, and Col. *Williamson*, the Deputy-Lieutenant of the *Tower*, from his very first Commitment, might foment a Jealousy and Suspicion in him of *I know not what*. But let that pass : The Commitment of a Bishop, upon a Suspicion of High-Treason, as it was a Thing rarely practis'd, since the Reformation, so it occasion'd various Speculations among the People. Those that were the Bishop's Friends, and pretended to the greatest Intimacy with him, laid the whole Odium of the Matter upon the Ministry. They knew the Bishop so well, they said, his Love to our Constitution, and Attachment to the Protestant Succession, his profess'd Abhorrence of Popery, and settled Contempt of the *Pretender*, such Caution, and Prudence, and Circumspection in all his Actions, as would never allow him to engage in an Attempt of subverting the Government, so hazardous in itself, and so repugnant to his Principles, and therefore they imputed *All* to the Malice and Management of a great Minister of State or two, who were resolv'd to remove him, on Account of some personal Prejudices, as well as the constant Molestation he gave them in Parliament, and the particular Influence and Activity he had shewn in the late Election; and in this Perswasion they continue still, obstinate, and more confirm'd, since *Kelly*, at the Bar of the House of Lords, has solemnly

lemnly acquitted him from any Knowledge of the Conspiracy or criminal Correspondence with him, and resolv'd all into the pure Invention and Contrivance of *Neynoe*, a Wretch brib'd with Money, and fair Promises, to devise a Plot, and supposititious Letters, that others might have an Handle to pull down the Pride of that haughty Prelate, and squeeze other innocent Persons, as he expresses it. † Those that were Friends to the Ministry, were of a contrary Opinion, that the Bishop was secretly a Favourer of the *Pretender's* Cause, and had formerly been tampering with Things of that Nature, even in the Queen's Time, and while his Party was excluded Power; but, upon their Re-admission, relinquish'd that Pursuit, and his Confederates therein, and became a good Subject again: They urg'd, that the Influence, which the late Duke of O-----d had over him, assisted with his own private Ambition and Revenge, might prompt him to many Things, contrary to his declar'd Sentiments, and inconsistent with that Cunning and Caution, which, in other Cases, he was Master of: And, to obviate the Difficulty of the *Pretender's* Bigottry, and his Averſion to Popery, they talk'd of a certain new-invented Scheme of his, not to

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receive

† See Kelly's Speech, p. 16.

receive the *Pretender*, whose Principles were incurable, but his *Son* only, into the Kingdom ; That he was to be educated a Protestant in the Church of *England*, and the Bishop made Guardian and Lord-Protector during his Minority : A prodigious Design, and not unlike the Ambitious Spirit of the *Man*, tho' he had not the Luck to accomplish it !

THESE, and many more Speculations, amus'd the World at that Time, and Men judg'd of Things, according as their Affections ran, 'till a *Report* from the Committee of the House of Commons was publish'd, which set the Conspiracy in a right Light. What the Bishop is chiefly charg'd with in that Report, is, carrying a traiterous Correspondence Abroad, in order to raise an Insurrection in the Kingdom, and to procure foreign Forces to invade it ; and, to support this Accusation, there are three Letters produc'd, to General *Dillon*, the late Lord *Mar*, and the *Pretender* himself, under the feign'd Names of *Chivers*, *Musgraze*, and *Jackson*, which are of a dangerous Nature. I shall not trouble my Reader with the Letters themselves, † since the Observations, the Committee has thought fit to make on them, will

† The Reader may see them in the Report from the Committee of the House of Commons, p. 42, &c.

will more fully shew him both their Contents and Tendency.

I. THIS *Dillon* is a profess'd *Roman* Catholic, who appear'd openly in Arms against the late King *William*, in *Ireland*, and being oblig'd to leave that Country, so long ago as the Capitulation of *Limerick*, has ever since adher'd to the same Cause in foreign Parts, and is, at present, more active and industrious, than any other of the *Pretender's* Agents, in exciting a Rebellion in these Kingdoms: Whereupon the Committee observes, that, as the different Professions of these two Persons could lay no Sort of Foundation for any Intimacy or Intercourse between them, so the long Absence of General *Dillon* makes it highly probable that their Acquaintance could not have commenc'd before his leaving these Kingdoms; and cou'd only have proceeded from their being long united and confederated in the common Support of the same wicked Cause; and yet their Intimacy is such, that the Bishop acknowledges the Receipt of several Papers from *Dillon*, together with Directions for communicating them, which the Bishop owns he obey'd so far, as he judg'd it proper for the Service; and yet some of these Papers appear to have been from the late Duke of *Ormond*, who is attainted, and others probably from the *Pretender*, whom he has so often abjur'd. He advises *Dillon* to press the Sol-
liciting

liciting Supplies, and owns he has been desir'd to undertake that Province himself, but that he had hitherto declin'd it; not from such Restraints, as should naturally have arisen in the Mind of one of his Character and Function, but merely on Account of some former ill Success and Mismanagement, in which, he owns, he had been deeply concern'd. He afterwards advises *Dillon* to use the same Caution which he himself intended, of not trusting any thing of Importance to the Post, endeavouring to act, within the Shelter and Safe-guard of the Laws, for subverting our happy Constitution, and not so much sollicitous to avoid the Guilt of Treason, as to escape the Punishment due to it, by saving himself from the Danger of legal Conviction.

2. THE Lord *Mar* had openly appear'd in Arms in *Scotland* against his Majesty, and since that, had a Post of the greatest Confidence and Trust near the *Pretender*, and yet, in his Letter to him, he owns the Receipt of one by *Kelly*, together with verbal Instructions; which, to cut off all Excuse of Surprise or Inadvertency, he says, he carefully consider'd, and yet intirely agreed to. He then mentions his present sad Circumstances, but comforts himself, that, as they will not permit him soon to act openly, so neither is there, he thinks, an immediate Occasion for it, some Time being necessary towards ripening

ripening Matters ; so that when a proper Opportunity should have offer'd, the Mask was to have been thrown off, and he was openly to have avow'd the Cause, which, hitherto, he had supported only in Disguise.

3. THE Laws of the Land account it High Treason to hold any Correspondence with the *Pretender* himself, or any of his Agents ; and yet in his Letter to the *Pretender*, he owns the Receipt of one from him, and, to shew how well he deserv'd that Confidence, he himself (who best knows the Thoughts of his own Heart) declares, that if the *Pretender* guess'd at his right Mind, he dares say, it is agreeable to his own. He then encourages him to hope for a Second Opportunity, *viz. the King's Departure to his foreign Dominions*, tho' not every Way so favourable as the first, *viz. the Time of the Elections*, which was elaps'd : He afterwards takes to himself the Merit of some Writing, which he had drawn up, and transmitted to the *Pretender*, after it had first pass'd the View and Approbation of the Persons concern'd ; tho' he says, that it had been kept back a great while, in hopes that *Deeds* might have accompany'd *Words* ; and lastly, as soon as God should restore him to his Health again, he promises to employ it in the Prosecutions of his Treasons ; but, in the mean Time, desires Leave to withdraw himself, seemingly, from any Engagements of
that

that Kind, that he might return with greater Zeal and Activity to destroy this Church and State, by placing a *Popish Pretender* on the *Throne*, in violation of the most sacred Oaths, so frequently taken by him. † These Letters and Observations upon them, were the chief Foundation of the Resolution taken in the House of Commons on *March 11. That Francis Lord Bishop of Rochester was principally concern'd in forming, directing, and carrying on a wicked and detestable Conspiracy, for invading these Kingdoms with a foreign Force, and for raising Insurrections and a Rebellion at Home, in order to subvert our present happy Establishment in Church and State, by placing a Popish Pretender upon the Throne.*

THIS Procedure, to punish by Way of Bill, occasion'd many warm Debates in the House of Commons : Those that oppos'd it, made use of such Arguments as these : — That by the Rules of natural Justice, Laws should be first made for the Direction of Mens Obedience, before they can be deem'd Guilty ; that where there is no antecedent Law, there is properly no Transgression ; and to punish *therefore* by a Law, made after the Offence

com-

† See the Report from the Committee of the House of Commons, p. 45, 46. See Votes of the House of Commons.

mitted, was repugnant to Reason, and contrary to Justice ; That Bills of Attainder were always Blemishes to the Reigns wherein they pass'd, and might be detrimental to the Interest and Security of his Majesty's Government ; That they were injurious to the *Judicial Power* of the House of Lords, and destructive to the Use of *Juries*, the distinguishing Privilege of the People of this Nation, prejudicial to the known Liberty and Safety of an *English* Subject, and never to be us'd but in Cases of extream Necessity, and where the Preservation of the State plainly requir'd them, as, in the present Case, there was not that Call and Necessity ; That the greater the Crime and Accusation against any Person was, the clearer and more convincing should the Evidence against him be ; That anonymous and decypher'd Letters, forc'd Constructions, Hear-says, and Inuendo's, were no Conviction of the Bishop's Guilt ; no Grounds to support the Allegations in the Preamble of the Bill, for *inflicting Pains and Penalties upon him* ; no Evidence that would be *accepted* in any other Court of Judicature ; but a Case, which, if *admitted*, would be a fatal Precedent, such as might in Time come Home to them all ; and make their latest Posterity *rule*. Mr. Kelly, in his Speech, (which I crave Leave to mention here) has something remarkably *pathetick* concerning the Effects

of such extraordinary Proceedings. “ The
 “ first extraordinary Bill that, I believe,
 “ ever pass’d in *England*, says he, was that
 “ of the Earl of *Strafford*; and how much
 “ personal Prejudice was in his Prosecution,
 “ and how fatal that Bill prov’d in its Con-
 “ sequences, I need not mention, since the
 “ Royal Martyr himself has, in his dying
 “ Words, call’d it, *An unjust Sentence*, and
 “ imputed all his Misfortunes to it. And
 “ pray, my Lords, why was the SENTENCE
 “ *unjust*, but because it was not supported
 “ by Law? --- and to the eternal Honour
 “ of this House be it said, that when the
 “ Proofs upon his Tryal were not found Le-
 “ gal, they refus’d to find him Guilty. But
 “ when this extraordinary Method was ta-
 “ ken, and the Torrent of the Times bore
 “ down their usual Justice, then the Flood-
 “ Gates of all these Miseries were open’d,
 “ which overwhelm’d and suck’d the Con-
 “ stitution; and of which, some of your no-
 “ ble Predecessors had so strong and lively
 “ a Sense, as to declare, in this very House,
 “ that they would be sooner *torn in Pieces*
 “ than come in to such illegal Proceedings;
 “ and so fell a Sacrifice to the Love and
 “ Laws of their Country. To which I shall
 “ only beg Leave to add one Observation,
 “ that, I am sure, is but too well known to
 “ that Right Reverend Bench.—That, of
 “ all the Prelates, who advis’d his Majesty
 “ to

“ to the passing of that fatal Bill, not one
 “ of them escap’d the Violence of those very
 “ Persons, whom they endeavour’d to oblige
 “ by that Advice. These, my Lords, were
 “ the unhappy Effects and fatal Consequen-
 “ ces of one extraordinary Bill ; and what
 “ those of another may prove, the great Di-
 “ rector of all Things only can foresee.”

THOSE that argu’d for the Bill, alledg’d—
 That this was a Case of the utmost Necessity,
 and wherein the Security of the Government
 was highly concern’d ; That the Conspiracy
 in itself was dangerous, as well as detestable ;
 big with Mischiefs of all Kinds, and de-
 structive of every Thing that was valuable
 among us ; That the Conspirators had car-
 ry’d it on with the utmost Cunning, as well
 as Wickedness, and screen’d and secur’d
 themselves under the Shelter of the Law ;
 That, tho’ there appear’d no legal Evidence
 against them, yet there was such a Compli-
 cation of Criminal Circumstances, as amount-
 ed to the Force, tho’ not the Formality, of
 Evidence, and such, as, in the Judgment of
 the Legislature (which was not ty’d down to
 the common Rules of other Courts) might be
 reputed a reasonable Conviction ; That in
 short, there was no other Way of bringing
 Offenders, notoriously guilty, tho’ artfully
 disguis’d, to condign Punishment ; and yet,
 to let them escape, would be giving Com-
 fort and Encouragement to such Practices for

the future, and promising Indemnity to clandestine Treason ; That this Way of Proceeding has always been allow'd in Cases of the like Nature, in the Case of Sir *John Fenwick*, in the Case of the intended Assassina-tors of King *William* the 3d, and, if us'd, cannot fail of having more Advantages to the State, than pernicious Consequences, attending it : That, if ever it was needful, now is the Time to appear strenuous in the Cause of the present Establishment, and to defeat the Designs of the *Pretender* and his Agents for ever, by letting them see, that there is no Design, tho' never so deeply laid, and covertly carry'd on, that can escape the *Vigilance* of the Ministry, or any Person, tho' never so high in Station, or sacred in Function, (let him hide his Deeds of Darkness in what Obscurity he pleases) but must expect to be punish'd, when once he is detected : That the Bishop, in particular, who had been so troublesome to the Government, and turbulent in his Proceedings, who had added Perjury and Perfidy to his undutiful Behaviour, and by his ill Example, impair'd, in others, a due Sense and Consideration of publick Oaths, ought, *least of all*, to expect Favour and Indulgence, but rather more Rigour and unrelenting Severity, as his Guilt had been more Heinous, his Example more Pernicious, and his Obligations to act otherwise more numerous and coercive.

THESE

THESE were the Arguments, which, at that Time, prevail'd both in the House, and elsewhere. And accordingly, a Bill was brought in, on *April* the 4th, to inflict certain Pains and Penalties on *Francis* Lord Bishop of *Rocheſter*, and a Copy of the Preamble, wherein all the Chief Charges against him were contain'd : “ As that he had been
 “ deeply concern'd in forming, &c. a wicked and detestable Conspiracy, and had
 “ been a principal Actor therein ; that he
 “ had done this, by traiterously consulting
 “ and corresponding with divers Persons *here*,
 “ to raise an Insurrection in this Kingdom,
 “ and procure foreign Forces to invade it ;
 “ that he had done this, by traiterously corresponding with the same wicked Intent,
 “ with the *Pretender* himself, and other
 “ Persons *Abroad* employ'd by him, knowing them to be so employ'd ; that his Design
 “ in all this, was to depose his Majesty King
 “ *George*, to subvert our present Constitution
 “ both in Church and State, and to place a
 “ *Popish Pretender* upon the Throne ; in
 “ consequence to deprive us of our Religion,
 “ Laws, and Liberties, to involve us in
 “ Blood and Ruin, and to subject us to the
 “ Bondage and Oppression of *Romish* Superstition and Arbitrary Power.”

* THESE Charges, I say, and Accusations against him, were sent by the Sergeant
 at

* See Preamble to the Act.

at Arms, and Notice withal given him, that he had the Liberty of Council and Solicitors granted him, and all other Things necessary for his Defence.

THE Bishop, 'tis plain both by his intercepted Letter at the *Tower*, and his own Acknowledgement to the Lords, expected nothing more, than an Impeachment to be lodg'd against him, but never prosecuted, as in the Cases of the Lord *Danby* and the Earl of *Oxford*; † but when he perceiv'd that the Commons intended to proceed against him *by Bill*, and to treat him with a more unavoidable and expeditious Severity than he imagin'd, he was a little surpriz'd at first, and seem'd to express the Symptoms of such a Fear, as may, in some sudden and unexpected Cases, be incident to the boldest Man. He recover'd himself, however, in a short Time, and, with a Resolution to make the best Defence he could, but such as was consistent with his Honour and Dignity, he sent his Petition to the House of Lords, *March* the 29th, praying for their Direction and Advice, as to his Conduct in that Conjunction, and what their Lordships Opinion might be, in relation to a standing Order, *prohibiting, on a Penalty, any Lord to appear, either in Person, or by his Counsel, before*

† See his *Speech*.

before the House of Commons, to answer any Accusation there.

THE Debates among the Lords, upon this Occasion, were many ; the Priviledges peculiar to their *House* were largely insisted on, and the late Intrenchments made upon them, by the Commons, loudly complain'd of ; but, at last, it was carry'd by a great Majority, * that the Bishop, being only a Lord in Parliament, and no Peer, might, without any Diminution to the Honour of that House, appear in the House of Commons, if he thought fit, and in what Manner he thought fit, to make the best Defence, and Vindication that he could. The Bishop, however, was not well pleas'd with this Concession, nor willing to try his Fate where he thought himself injur'd and prejudg'd already, and therefore sent a Letter on *April* the 4th to the *Speaker* of the *House of Commons*, acquainting him with the Reasons that had determin'd him, not to give that House any Trouble, concerning a Bill therein depending against him, but shoud be ready to make his Defence and Plea against it, when it came to be argu'd in *another House, whereof he had the Honour to be a Member.* It so happen'd, that a Letter, which fell into the Ministry's Hands, was seal'd with the Seal of an Impression very much like, if not the very same with the Seal, which
had

* 78 to 32.

had been observ'd on a certain criminal Letter, † for which he was accus'd; a Circumstance, this, not to be neglected, because it might conduce to ascertain those Letters to be his, as well as confirm some other Instances, that pointed at his Guilt; and therefore Orders were immediately sent to the *Tower*, to seize all the Seals that were found about him or his Servants, and to bring them instantly away, to have their Impressions compar'd. Col. *Williamson*, in this, did no more than he was commanded; but, on the 5th of *April*, the Bishop sent a Petition to the House of Lords, complaining, that the said *Williamson*, assisted by Persons under his Authority, had, by Violence, search'd him, carry'd away two Seals, and seiz'd a Paper in his Pocket, which was a Letter to his Solicitor; search'd his two Servants likewise, and taken away a Seal from one of them; *and thereupon praying, that, as a Lord of Parliament, and Member of that House, he might have Relief and Protection.*

WHAT made this Complaint the more remarkable, was, his having a Bill depending against him in the House of Commons at this Time, and the Benefit of Counsel and Solicitors allow'd him for making his Defence: It seem'd a little hard, therefore, and un-

† It was a Letter directed to Mr. Dubois, seiz'd among the Bishop's Papers.

unreasonable, that his Letter to his Solicitor should be seiz'd, or any Thing forcibly wrested from him, that related to his Vindication: A Violation of the Rules of natural Justice, as well as the fundamental and known Laws of the Realm, some call'd it, *that any Person, and more especially a Lord of Parliament, being under Imprisonment and Accusation of High Treason, should, by Terror, or other Violence, be, in any Degree, disturb'd in, or disabled from, making his Defence*; * but the Thing being judg'd necessary at that Time, and directed by the Ministry, to enable them to make a farther Discovery, the Petition was dismiss'd by a great Majority †, and the Commons proceeded with their usual *Zeal and Vigour*, till, on the 9th of *April*, they pass'd the Bill against him, which enacts, “ That, after the 1st of *June* 1723, he shall be depriv'd of all his Offices, Dignities, Promotions, and Benefices Ecclesiastical whatsoever, and that, from thenceforth, the same shall be actually void, as if he were naturally dead; that he shall, for ever, be disabled, and render'd incapable from holding or enjoying any Office, Dignity, or Emolument, within this Realm, or any other his Majesty's Dominions; as also from

P

“ exerci-

* See the *Protests of the House of Lords*, p. 12.

† 56 to 24.

“ exercising any Office, Ecclesiastical or Spi-
 “ ritual whatever ; that he shall suffer per-
 “ petual Exile, and be for ever banish’d this
 “ Realm, and all other his Majesty’s Do-
 “ minions ; that he shall depart out of the
 “ same by the 25th of *June* next ; and if he
 “ return into, or be found within the Realm,
 “ or any other his Majesty’s Dominions, af-
 “ the said 25th of *June*, he, being thereof
 “ lawfully convicted, shall suffer as a Felon
 “ without Benefit of Clergy, and shall be
 “ utterly incapable of any Pardon from his
 “ Majesty, his Heirs, or Successors : That
 “ all Persons, who shall be aiding and assist-
 “ ing to his Return into this Realm, or any
 “ other his Majesty’s Dominions, or shall
 “ conceal him within the same, being law-
 “ fully convicted thereof, shall be adjudg’d
 “ guilty of Felony, without Benefit of Cler-
 “ gy : That if any of his Majesty’s Subjects
 “ (except such Persons as shall be licens’d
 “ for that Purpose under the Sign Manual)
 “ shall, after the 25th of *June*, hold any
 “ Correspondence in Person with him, with-
 “ in this Realm, or without ; or by Letters,
 “ Messages, or otherwise, or with any Per-
 “ son employ’d by him, knowing such Per-
 “ son to be so employ’d, they shall, on Con-
 “ viction, be adjudg’d Felons without Be-
 “ nefit of Clergy : And, Lastly, That Of-
 “ fences against this Act, committed out of
 “ this

“ this Realm, may be try’d in any County
 “ within *Great Britain*.” †

THESE were the several Pains and Penalties which pass’d into an Act, against Dr. *Atterbury* the 9th of *April*; and the same Day Mr. *Yonge* was order’d to carry it to the Lords, and desire their Concurrence.

SOME that were ignorant of the Reasons why Dr. *Atterbury* appear’d not in the House of Commons, imputed it to a Consciousness of Guilt, or a certain Despair of doing himself any Good by the best Vindication; and, notwithstanding his Declaration to the contrary, expected the same Thing from him, when the Bill came up to the House of Lords. But they little understood the Temper of the Man, or what a Gratification it was to his Spirit, not only to be the *Person remark’d* for a few Days, but to have a probable Chance, likewise, of transmitting his Name to Posterity, in the *Annals* of an *illustrious Prince*, which he must have ever despair’d of, had he continu’d within the Bounds of his Function. He knew that the Sense of his Guilt would vanish among Men, but the Remembrance of his Punishment, if it had any remarkable Severity in it, would remain*,

P. 2

and

† See *Abstract of the Acts of last Session*, p. 38.

* Equidem Ego sic existimo P. C. omnes Cruciatu minores quam facinora eorum esse : sed plerique Mortales

and in Time, perhaps, operate for his *Recall*, if he could but palliate some Matters, and give a fair Gloss to others, in the Course of his Defence. These Thoughts, and a Consciousness of his own Abilities, made him resolve to make the best of this Opportunity, let the Event prove what it wou'd; and accordingly, on the 6th of *May*, about 9 in the Morning, he went, accompany'd with the Deputy-Governour, in his Coach, and attended with a strong Detachment of Foot-Guards, from the *Tower* to *Westminster*, when the Bill was first read, and a long Process began, which continu'd for above a Week, and had too great a Variety of Occurrences in it to find any Place in this short Narrative. The Temper of the Mob is the most unaccountable Thing in Nature; nor is there any certainty which Way, at any Time, it will take: Blindness goes before it, and its Censures or Applauses are guided by Madness and Caprice*: A *Sa——l*, not long ago, was its great Doating-piece, but now the great Supporter of
that

tales postrema meminere, & in Hominibus impiis, Sceleris eorum obliti, de pœnâ differunt, si ea paulo Severior fuerit. Vld. *Cæsaris Orat. in Sal. Bell. Cat.*

* Non enim est concilium in vulgo, non ratio, non discrimen, non diligentia: Semperque sapientes ea, quæ populus Fecisset, ferenda, non semper laudanda duxerunt. *Cic. pro Cn. Plancio.*

that *Sa——l*, the Composer of his Speech; the Manager of his Defence, the Director of his Conduct, and the Curb and Restraint upon his mad and immerigerous Spirit, at that critical Juncture, falls under their Clamours and Insults, notwithstanding the Sacredness of his Character, and is forc'd to appeal to the House of Lords for Safety and Protection.

WICKED and pragmatistical Men, or Dissenters of any Kind, may put themselves *officiously* at the Head of a Rabble, and insult a Prisoner more virulently, perhaps, because he is a *Prelate*: But, that the Ministry had no Hand in these Disorders, that the Persons thus outrageous, were neither employ'd, encourag'd, nor conniv'd at by them, (however Suggestions of this Nature came to be made in the House) is plain, from the speedy Stop that was put to them, the strict Orders that were given to seize and secure all that were guilty of such Inhumanity, and the due Care taken to execute these Orders, by the Guards defending his Person, and the Magistrates committing all such to Prison, as were remarkably insolent; so that, all the Week after, he pass'd along the Streets very quietly, and without Molestation, being pity'd, rather than revil'd; and became the Object of Mens Commiseration at last, more than their Reproach. So easily are the angry Passions of a *good-natur'd People* asswag'd, and so soon do the tender Resentments of Human

Human Nature take Place again ! The examining of Witnesses on both Sides, the explaining and enforcing Matters that were difficult, the arguing Points of Law that were abstruse, and the great Emulation in the Counsel ‡ to prove him Guilty, or to prove him Innocent, as their different Purpose and Intention was, took up most of the Week. (The Bishop all the while behaving with a becoming Magnanimity, and doing every Thing that a knowing and sagacious Man could do, in his Defence) 'till on *Saturday May 11*, he was allow'd to speak for himself.

THE Speech, which we have publish'd, seems to have been very imperfectly taken ; it wants a great deal of his justness of Method, and exactness of Thought ; it has not that nice Connection of Matter, and easy Transition of Period, that I have observ'd in his other Writings ; but, such as it is, the Reader may perhaps give a Guess at the Form and Design, by this short Analysis that I venture to give him of it.

THE

‡ *Sir Const. Phipps, and Will. Wynne, Esq; were the Bishop's Counsel, and Mr. Jos. Taylor and Mr. Morris, his Solicitors.*

THE Speech then, as it appears to me, consists of three Parts ; 1st. A Preface, 2d. A Confutation of the Charge against him, and, 3d. A Conclusion.

I. IN the *Preface*, he complains, first, of the long Confinement, and other Severities that he had suffer'd in the *Tower* : Then tells the Lords why he did not defend himself before the Commons, because, both by the Resolution of that House, and the Preamble of the Bill, he found himself prejudg'd : Then enumerates several Hardships he had labour'd under, and some reasonable Requests that had been deny'd him, during his Tryal : And so proceeds,

1. FROM its *Want of Evidence* to support it, and,

2. ITS *Improbability* to be true.

II. TO a Confutation of the Charge.

1. THE Charge against him in general is, A wicked Design to subvert the Government, by deposing the King, and placing the *Pretender* on the Throne ; and, in order to this,

1. TRAITEROUSLY consulting with Persons at Home to raise a Rebellion, and,

2. TRAITEROUSLY corresponding with Persons Abroad to procure an Invasion.

1. THE traiterous Consultation at Home must be between him, and the Persons suspected and nam'd in the Report ; such as Lord *Strafford*,

Strafford, L. *North* and *Grey*, L. *Orrery*, and Sir *H. Goring*; but with these, he is very far, he says, from having had any great Familiarity, or they any *Traiterous Consultations* with him; having seen some of them, not in one, others, not in two Years last past; having never din'd with *one*, and but once with *another*.

2. THE traiterous Correspondence Abroad is of three Kinds :

1. THREE Letters sent to Gen. *Dillon*, the Lord *Mar*, and the *Pretender*, which the Bishop dictated to *Kelly*.
2. TWO Intercepted Letters from *Mar* and *Dillon*, in answer to these. And,
3. A FOREIGN Correspondence carry'd on by *Kelly*, with the Bishop's Knowledge and Approbation.

1. THE three Letters, suppos'd to be dictated on *April* the 20th, 1722, the Bishop says, he could not be concern'd in; because the concurrent Testimonies of his Servants, *that no Stranger came near him about that time*, and the Incompetent Evidence of the Post-Office-Clerks, who, at such a Distance of Time, might not remember Mr. *Kelly's* Hand-writing, seems to clear him.

2. THE two Letters in answer, were sent on purpose to be intercepted, and to fix the other upon him, because they describe

scribe him and his Circumstances in such a glaring Openness, as, had they been genuine, must have been inconsistent with the Rules of *Reserv'd Writing*.

3. MR. KELLY, he owns, he had some Knowledge of, but no Manner of Intimacy with him, nor any Communion in his Correspondence, as Mr. *Kelly* himself had declar'd in the House of Lords, and his Servants testify'd upon Oath, That they neither knew his Name nor Face, he came so seldom, and 'tis hardly to be thought, that he would have enter'd into Secrets of so dangerous a Nature with so slight an Acquaintance.

3. THE only Thing then that the Charge rests upon, is *Neynoe's* Evidence, and an Hearsay-Evidence, such as *his* was, is (as he shews from a Passage in Sir *John Fenwick's* Bill of Attainder) of small Weight and Consideration, in Cases of this Nature. Then he goes on to represent this *Neynoe*, as a pragmatrical Pretender to Secrets, that he knew nothing of, a cowardly corrupt Creature, that would swear backward or forward, say or unsay any Thing for Fear or Pay, and a profligate Wretch, that had thrown away his Life, rather than venture to stand to the Truth of what he had own'd before his Death; and so proceeds to the

2. HEAD of Confutation, the *Improbability* of the Charge, with regard to him. For, had he been concern'd in any traiterous Designs against the Government, 'tis probable to think, that he had made the late D. of O---d, whom he always highly regarded, and not the Earl of Mar, who had left the *Pretender's* Party, his Correspondent; that he had sent his Letters by some secret Way, and not committed them to the publick Post; and that some Foot-steps, at least, of such a Correspondence, would have appear'd, either among his Papers that were seiz'd, or from the Testimony of some credible Witnesses; but for a Man of his recluse and retir'd Life, unacquainted with the Arts of War, and active only in his proper Sphere, to engage in a Conspiracy, when his Heart was full of Grief for the Loss of a Wife, and his Head busy'd in Buildings and Books, and Controversies of another Nature, is a Thing incongruous, and destitute of all Probability. Here then is (for now I will give my Reader a Sketch of the Bishop's own Language, that cannot so well be epitomiz'd.) " Here is a Plot, of a Year
 " or two standing, to subvert the Govern-
 " ment with an Armed Force;---An Inva-
 " sion from Abroad;---An Insurrection at
 " Home;---Just when ripe for Execution,
 " it is discover'd;---And 12 Months after
 " the

“ the Contrivance of this Scheme, no
 “ Consultation appears, no Men corre-
 “ sponding together, no Provision made,
 “ no Arms, no Officers provided, not a
 “ Man in Arms, and the poor Bishop
 “ has done all this.

“ What could tempt me to step thus
 “ out of my Way ? Was it Ambition,
 “ and a Desire of climbing into an higher
 “ Station in the Church ? There is not a
 “ Man in my Office farther remov'd from
 “ this than I am, &c. Was Money my
 “ Aim ? I always despis'd it too much,
 “ considering I had Occasion for it ; for,
 “ out of a poor Bishoprick of 500 *l. per*
 “ *Annum*, I have laid out 800. I took
 “ not one Shilling for Delapidations, and
 “ the rest of my little Income has been
 “ spent, as is necessary, as I am a Bishop,
 “ &c. Was I influenc'd by any Dislike
 “ of the Establish'd Religion, and secret-
 “ ly inclin'd towards a Church of greater
 “ Pomp and Power ? I have, my Lords,
 “ ever since I knew what Popery was, op-
 “ pos'd it ; and the better I knew it, the
 “ more I oppos'd it. I began my Study
 “ in Divinity, when the Popish Contro-
 “ versy grew hot, with that immortal
 “ Book of *Tillotson's*, when he undertook
 “ the Protestant Cause in General, and as
 “ such, I esteem'd him above all. You
 “ will pardon me, my Lords, if I men-

“ tion one Thing : Thirty Years ago, I
 “ writ in Defence of *Martin Luther*,
 “ and have Preach’d, Express’d, and Wrote,
 “ to that Purpose from my Infancy ; and
 “ whatever happens to me, I will suffer
 “ any Thing, and, by God’s Grace, burn
 “ at the Stake, rather than depart from any
 “ material Point of the Protestant Religi-
 “ on, as profess’d in the Church of *Eng-
 “ land*. Once more : Can I be suppos’d
 “ to have a Favour to Arbitrary Power ?
 “ The whole Tenour of my Life has been
 “ otherwise : I was always a Friend to
 “ the Liberty of the Subject, and, to the
 “ best of my Power, constantly maintain-
 “ ed it : I may have been thought mista-
 “ ken in the Measures I took to support
 “ it, but it matters not by what Party I
 “ was call’d, so my Actions are uniform.”

III. IN the Conclusion, he sets before the
 Lords the Grievousness of the Penalties
 to be inflicted upon him ; the Insufficiency
 of the Evidence to prove him in the least
 Degree guilty ; the fatal Consequences of
 making Precedents in such extraordinary
 Proceedings ; and then closes all, with
 this solemn Declaration of his Innocence,
 which, if not true, *the Lord have Mercy
 upon his Soul*.

“ I have, my Lords, taken up much of
 “ your Lordship’s Time, yet I must beg your
 “ Attention a little longer. Some Part of
 “ my Charge has been disprov’d by direct
 “ and full Evidence, other Parts of it are not
 “ capable of such Disproof, nor indeed re-
 “ quire it ; there I rest. But, my Lords,
 “ there is still a Way allow’d of Vindica-
 “ ting myself : It is generally negative, *i. e.*
 “ by protesting, and declaring my Innocence
 “ to your Lordships in the most deliberate,
 “ serious, and solemn Manner, and appeal-
 “ ing to God, the Searcher of Hearts, as to
 “ the Truth of what I say ; as I do in what
 “ follows.”

*I am charg’d in the Report with direct-
 ing a Correspondence by Mr. Kelly, but I
 solemnly deny that I ever, directly or in-
 directly, saw a single Line of any of these
 Letters, ’till I met with them in Print,
 nor were the Contents of any of them ever
 communicated to me. I do, in the next
 Place, deny, that I was ever privy to any
 Memorial to be drawn up, to be deliver’d to
 the Regent ; nor was I ever acquainted
 with any Advantage to be made, on the
 King’s going to Hanover, or at the Time of
 the Elections ; nor did I hear the least Ru-
 mour of the Plot, to take Place, after the
 breaking up of the Camp, ’till some Time
 after Mr. Layer’s Commitment. I do with
 the*

the same Solemnity declare, that I never collected, remitted, receiv'd, or ask'd any Money of any Man to facilitate these Designs, nor was I ever acquainted with, or had any Remittances whatever from any such Persons, as did : That I never remitted, or drew any Declaration, Minutes, or Paper, in the Name of the Pretender, as is generally charg'd upon me ; and that I never knew of any Commission issu'd, Preparations of Arms, Officers, or Soldiers, or Methods taken to procure any, in order to raise an Insurrection in these Kingdoms : All this I declare to be true, and will so declare, to the last Gasp of my Breath.

“ HAD the Charge been as fully prov'd
 “ as asserted, it had been vain to make Pro-
 “ testations of my Innocence, tho' never so
 “ solemn ; but as the Charge is supported by
 “ the slightest Probabilities, and which can-
 “ not be disprov'd, in any Instance, without
 “ proving a Negative ; allow the solemn
 “ Asseverations of a Man, in Behalf of his
 “ own Innocence, to have their due Weight ;
 “ and I ask no more, than that they may
 “ have as much of Influence upon your Lord-
 “ ships, as they have of Truth.

“ If in any Account, there shall still be
 “ thought by your Lordships to be any
 “ seeming Strength in the Proofs against
 “ me :

“ me : If by your Lordships Judgments,
 “ springing from unknown Motives, I
 “ shall be thought to be Guilty ; if for
 “ any Reasons or Necessity of State, in
 “ the Wisdom and Justice of which I am
 “ no competent Judge, your Lordships
 “ shall proceed to pass this Bill against
 “ me ; I shall dispose myself quietly
 “ and tacitly to submit to what you do ;
 “ God’s Will be done : *Naked came I*
 “ *out of my Mother’s Womb, and Naked*
 “ *shall I return ;* and whether he gives,
 “ or takes away, *blessed be the Name*
 “ *of the Lord.*”

WHETHER it was this Speech, deliver’d
 with all the proper Graces of an Orator, or
 some other Occurrence that produc’d it, I can-
 not tell ; but on the same Day, a Motion was
 made to have Mr. *Kelly* brought to the Bar
 of the House, on *Monday* Morning, to be
 examin’d upon Oath, on some Parts of the
 Bill depending against the Bishop. This Mo-
 tion was supported by some such Reasons as
 these — That the chief Accusation against
 the Bishop was that of his treasonable Cor-
 respondence, which had not been made out
 by any direct positive Proof, or living Evi-
 dence of the Fact ; that several living Evi-
 dences had deny’d it, and Mr. *Kelly* himself,
 in the most solemn Affeверations, clear’d him
 of it : That Mr. *Kelly* was certainly a com-
 petent

petent legal Evidence in this Matter, no Way incapacitated by the Bill against him even tho' it had the King's Assent, nor under the Influences of Hopes and Fears so much, as Evidences under Commitment and Charges of Treason, and therefore it behov'd the Justice of the House, to have a Matter of such Consequences brought under the most strict and solemn Examination, before the Bill pass'd. This Motion, however, upon the Presumption of too close a Confederacy between *Kelly* and the Bishop, ever to come at the Knowledge of the Truth by this Means, was over-rul'd by a great Majority †; and on *Monday* the 13th, the Bishop was the last Time carry'd from the *Tower*, to hear the Replication of the King's Counsel to his Defence.

THE two Persons, that appear'd upon this Occasion, and have since made their Speeches publick, were Mr. *Reeve*, and Mr. *Wearg*, both Men of great Knowledge and Sagacity in the *Law*, but of different Talents, in Point of *Eloquence*, and who seem to have form'd their *Replies*, designedly, in a different Way. Mr. *Reeve* sticks close to the Matter in Evidence, and enforces the Charge against the Bishop with great Perspicuity and Strength. Mr. *Wearg* answers all Objections, and

and refutes the Arguments brought for him in an easy soft Manner, and with great Simplicity of Reason. Mr. *Reeve* is wholly employ'd in Facts ; in comparing Circumstances, and compacting them together, in order to corroborate the Proof of the Bishop's Guilt. Mr. *Wearg* attends him and his Counsel throughout, to silence their Complaints, and reply to every Thing they advance, in order to invalidate the Allegations of his Innocence. The one, in short, possesses the Minds of the Lords with strong Convictions against him ; the other dispossesses them of any favourable Impression, that may possibly be made upon them by the Artifice of his Defence. And accordingly, Mr. *Reeve* is strong, nervous, and inforcing ; but Mr. *Wearg*, smooth, easy, and insinuating, both in the Manner of his Expression, and Turn of Period : So that they make up jointly (and might, no doubt, have done it separately, had not their Provinces been otherwise appointed) the full Character of that great Orator and Pleader in Tully's BRUTUS : *Nihil acute inveniri potuit in iis Causis, quas Scripsit, nihil (ut ita dicam) subdole, nihil versute, quod ille non viderit : nihil subtiliter dici, nihil presse, nihil enucleate, quo fieri possit Aliquid limatius ; nihil contra grande, nihil incitatum, nihil ornatum vel Verborum Gravitate, vel sententiarum, quo quicquam*

R

esset

esset elatius. † Mr. *Reeve's* Speech is so succinctly compact and uniform, that there is no separating any Part of it ; the Curious must be content, as he will be delighted, to read the whole ; but the Preface in Mr. *Wearg's* Reply, is what stands distinct, and to me seems an excellent Flower of Oratory.

“ IT must be admitted, my Lords, says
 “ he, that the Reverend Prelate at the Bar
 “ has made his Defence, with the utmost
 “ Force, and Beauty of Eloquence. Was I
 “ capable of answering it in the like Man-
 “ ner, which I own I am not, yet I should
 “ not think myself at Liberty to do it, un-
 “ der the present Circumstances ; for, tho’
 “ it may be excusable, in a Person, upon his
 “ Defence, to make use of that powerful
 “ Instrument of Error and Deceit, which
 “ always imposes upon the Reason, and mis-
 “ guides the Judgment, in Proportion as it
 “ affects the Passions ; yet, I cannot think
 “ the same Methods justifiable in a Person,
 “ employ’d to carry on the Prosecution : I
 “ shall therefore examine the Force of what
 “ has been offer’d on Behalf of the Reverend
 “ Prelate, stript of the Ornaments and Co-
 “ lours of Rhetorick.”

THUS he begins, and goes on accordingly, ’till he comes to his Conclusion, which is

† Vid. *Gicer. de Claris Orat.* p. 577. Ex Edit. J. Bleau.

worded thus : “ The last Thing press’d by
 “ the Reverend Prelate, is, a Solemn Pro-
 “ testation, I cannot say of Innocence, be-
 “ cause it seems to me to be conceiv’d in
 “ such Terms, as not to contradict any Part
 “ of the Charge insisted upon by the Counsel
 “ for the Bill. It is chiefly calculated to an-
 “ swer some particular Circumstances of
 “ Time, without any Denyal of the general
 “ Charge, or the least Declaration of Affe-
 “ ction, or Loyalty towards his present Ma-
 “ jesty. But if his Protestations amounted
 “ to a direct and positive Denyal of the
 “ Charge, they ought not to have any
 “ Weight with your Lordships ; since this
 “ is a Defence equally in the Power of the
 “ most Guilty, as well as the Innocent : *A*
 “ *little Proof is better than many Protestations.*
 “ And I cannot help observing, upon
 “ this Head, and I hope his Lordship won’t
 “ impute this Observation to Ill-nature, but
 “ a Sense of my Duty, which obliges me
 “ to make all proper Observations, that it
 “ appears, his Lordship has not always that
 “ strict Regard to Truth which he ought to
 “ have, by the Papers taken upon his Ser-
 “ vant at the *Tower*.

“ THE Nature of the Punishment has
 “ been much talk’d of in the Course of these
 “ Proceedings, and great Lamentations
 “ made upon it, but surely without any Rea-

“ son ; for I may venture to affirm, this is the
 “ mildest Punishment that ever was inflicted
 “ *for such an Offence.* His Life is not
 “ touch’d ; his Liberty nor Property affect-
 “ ed: He is only expell’d the Society, whose
 “ Government he disapproves, and has en-
 “ deavour’d to subvert ; and depriv’d of the
 “ publick Employment, which the Govern-
 “ ment had entrusted him with : The En-
 “ joyment of his Life, his private Estate,
 “ and his Liberty under any other Govern-
 “ ment that may be more agreeable, is al-
 “ low’d him. This is scarce to be call’d a
 “ Punishment, being nothing more, than
 “ what was absolutely necessary for the pub-
 “ lick Security. The Commons of *Great*
 “ *Britain* have done their Part towards pro-
 “ viding for *this Security*, and I don’t doubt
 “ but it will meet with the Concurrence of
 “ your Lordships.” *

WHEN the whole Matter, after these Re-
 plications, came to be debated in the House of
 Lords, there was never such a Profusion of
 Eloquence (if I may so call it) as in that
 Assembly, and on that momentous Affair ;
 each labouring to annoy, or assuyl the Bishop,
 as they thought him innocent, or guilty of
 pernicious Designs against the Government,

Some

* See the Replies of Thomas Reeve and Clement
 Wearg, Esqs, p. 15. 22. & passim.

Some Pieces of this Kind (especially from Lords, as remarkable for their Knowledge of the Laws, as for their Skill and long Exercise in Oratory) would be a curious entertainment to my Reader ; but, as the Authors of them seem determin'd to make them of private Use only, I must content myself with giving him a View of what has appear'd in the World ; being willing to have done an equal Justice to every one, had the Reasons for *Passing*, been made as publick, as those for *Protesting* against, the Bill. †

THE Bishop of *Salisbury*, however, has acquitted himself in this particular, by the Publication of his Speech. 'Tis a plain and unaffected Discourse, full of good Sense, and favouring of much Knowledge in our Laws, both Civil and Ecclesiastical. But, what is most remarkable, He takes therein more especial Notice of such Things as were address'd, both by the Bishop and his Counsel, in a more peculiar Manner, to the Bench of Bishops. He shews, that to deprive a Bishop of his Preferments, and prohibit him the Use and Exercise of his Function for Life, is neither contrary to the Canons and Discipline of the Church, nor to the Laws and Ordinances of God ; That the Text to *Timothy*,
of

† See the Protest of the House of Lords upon this Occasion, at the End of these Memoirs.

of not receiving an Accusation against an Elder but before two or three Witnesses * is, consequently, nothing to the present Case : (It respects only the Conduct of Bishops toward their Presbyters) Nor is any Part of the Judicial Law of *Moses* to the like Purpose, of any Manner of Obligation to us ; and so going on to prove, first, the Lawfulness, and then Prudence and Expediency of the Bill, he comes at last to this warm and pathetick Conclusion. “ It is now above a
 “ Year since the Plot was first discover’d ;
 “ a Plot of a most desperate Nature, to seize
 “ the Persons of the *King* and *Prince*, and
 “ to bring in a *Popish Pretender* among us.
 “ The Execution of which, was to be begun by seizing the *Tower*, and attacking
 “ the *City of London* on all Sides, and was
 “ thence to spread itself into all Parts of the
 “ Kingdom. Lord ! What Confusion ; what
 “ Murthers ; what Plundering ; what Burnings must this have caus’d ? Whatever had
 “ been the Issue, the very Attempt must probably have occasion’d the Sacking and
 “ burning of this Great City ; the utter Loss, at once, of Publick Credit ; the Murther
 “ of infinite Numbers of People ; the Astonishment, and Amazement, and Undoing,
 “ of almost all, but of those vile Wretches,
 “ who

* 1 Tim. 5. 19.

“ who would have had the Plundering of
 “ all Sides. If it had gone on, How many
 “ of the noble Lords, that I now see, would
 “ have been, before this, in their Graves?
 “ But I forbear going any farther in this
 “ Tragical Representation; only give me
 “ Leave in the last Place, as a Christian and
 “ a Protestant Bishop, to hope, you will do
 “ your Best, that a *Popish Pretender* may
 “ never be set at the Head of this Church;
 “ one, who must think himself bound in Con-
 “ science to destroy it; and, instead of that
 “ pure Religion, which we now enjoy,
 “ bring in horrible *Superstition* and *Idolatry*,
 “ *Nonsense* and *Tyranny*; attended with
 “ all the sad Calamities, which Popish
 “ Princes always have brought, and always
 “ must bring upon Protestant Countries.”†

AND now, to come to a Conclusion, after
 many long and earnest Debates on both Sides,
 the Lords pass'd the Bill, by a great Majori-
 ty of Voices, * on the 16th; and, on the
 27th of *May*, 1723, the King came to the
 House, and confirm'd it by his Royal Assent;
 having appointed Dr. *Bradford* to succeed
 him; a Person of distinguish'd Probity, and
 in whom the King will never have Reason
 to repent his Choice, whatever an Author of
 im-

† See the *Bishop of Salisbury's Speech*, p. 1 and 10.

* 83 to 43.

impotent Malice and Resentment may insinuate, both to depreciate his Majesty's Prudence, and that Prelate's Worth. *

'Tis reported, that the King pass'd this Bill with some Regret, being much concern'd, as he said, that there should be any just Occasion of dooming, to perpetual Banishment, a Bishop of the Church of *England*; a Man of such Eminent Parts and Learning, and one, who had been so nearly attendant on him, at his Coronation. To alleviate, however, in some Measure, the Severity of this Sentence, and that he might not be entirely cut off from the Comforts of his Children, and Conversation of his Friends, he permitted his Daughter to attend him in his Travels; and, thro' the Hands of her Husband, allow'd him a Correspondence and Intercourse with his native Country. † A glorious Instance of invincible Generosity, thus *to overcome Evil with Good*, and *to heap such Coals of Kindness upon the Head* of an Adversary, as are enough to *melt* him into Shame and Remorse, and reciprocal Love!

DR.

* The True Briton.

† Mr. Morrice having obtain'd his Majesty's Leave to attend the Bishop of Rochester Abroad, by Virtue of a Sign Manual, is allow'd to correspond with any of his Majesty's Subjects, and they with him, in the same Manner, as if the Act, in the last Session of Parliament, against the said Bishop, had not pass'd.

DR. ATTERBURY had now nothing else to do but to settle his Affairs, and dispose of his Effects, and prepare for his Departure. This Indulgence of the King had made him easy ; and the Liberality of his Friends, (for, tho' it was thought Proper for some Reasons to detain him in Custody, during his Stay, yet his Friends, from the Time that his Hearing before the House of Lords was over, had free Access to him) their Liberality, I say, which, on this Occasion, was profusely great, supply'd the Defects of his Fortune, and enabled him to live in a Strange Country, without any Danger of Distress. So that, when the two great Stings, of Banishment, want of Money, and want of Intercourse with the World, were happily remov'd, he took Leave of his Friends (who, the Day before, came, in great Numbers, to bid him their last Adieu) with a great Deal of Serenity and seeming Resignation ; and, on *June* 18, between Twelve and One, at Noon, was carry'd in a Chair, but not in a Lay-Habit, as was reported, from his Apartment in the *Tower*, to the Water-Side ; and thence, in a Barge, appointed to wait on him, (wherein were Mr. *Morrice* and his Spouse, Colonel *Williamson*, and Capt. *Laurence*, Commander of the Man of War, that was to carry him over) he fell down with the Tide, leaving us these Wise, these Salutary Admonitions in his Fate : *Let every Soul be subject*

to the Higher Powers, whether it be to the King, as Supreme, or unto Governors, as sent by him for the Punishment of Evil-doers, and for the Praise of them that do well : For a divine Sentence is in the Lips of the King, his Mouth transgresseth not in Judgment† : His Throne is establish'd in Righteousness, his Favour is towards wise Servants‡ : His Safety in the Wisdom of his Counsellors, and therefore he that walketh uprightly, walketh surely, but he that perverteth his Way, shall be known §§ : An evil Man only seeketh Rebellion, therefore a cruel Messenger shall be sent against him : ** For, tho' Hand join in Hand, no Person shall go unpunish'd, no Weapon employ'd in such a Cause, shall prosper.*

Finally, to conclude : Now, that the Bishop is gone, and we shall never see him more, let us make a Stand, a little, upon this Occasion, and ask ourselves a few Questions; What it is we mean by giving the Government this Disturbance, or what possible Advantage we can promise ourselves, if we were even able to compass a Revolution in it? Conspiracies, you see (you see by the Example of *one*, who, perhaps, had the best Head in

* 1 Pet. 2. 13.

† Prov. 16. 10.

‡ Ib. 14. 35.

|| Ib. 10. 9.

** Ib. 17. 11.

in the Kingdom to manage them) are generally of a dangerous, uncertain, and unsuccessful Nature: They are attended with so many Incidents, and watch'd with such sedulous Indicacy by the State: They require such a Number of Accomplices, have generally Directors of such different Humours and Inclinations, and Under-Agents of such desperate Fortunes and abandon'd Honour, that 'tis almost a Miracle they are not all discover'd, thro' one unruly Passion or other, in a Manner, as soon as they are projected. The Man that is engag'd in such Confederacies, must certainly, then, have an uneasy and distracted Mind. *One* has not Courage, and *another* wants Conduct: *This Man* is too open to keep the Secret; and *that* too indigent to stand the Temptation of a Bribe; so that he is in Pain for every one of his Fraternity; and has not only the Suspicions of the Government, but the possible Perfidy of his own Party to guard against.

WHAT Man, then, in his Senses, would forego the Ease and quiet Enjoyment of himself, and perplex his Mind with Fears and Jealousies and Suspicions of all Kinds, besides the Misgivings of Guilt and Rebukes of a perjur'd Conscience, (if ever he has pledg'd his Fidelity to the State) to embark in a Cause, where, if he miscarries, (and 'tis a Thousand to One, but he does miscarry)

carry) all that is near and dear to him is thrown away, and lost for ever.

THINK with yourselves, then, my Friends, and Fellow-Subjects, whether it be worth your while to venture the Loss of your Estates and goodly Manors, your Titles and Honours, your Liberties and Lives, and (what is no very pleasant Consideration) to leave your Widows desolate, and your Children Beggars, for the Sake of *one*, whom you know nothing of, but that he is still a *Biggot* to a *contrary Religion*, and was once a *Deserter* of his very *best Friends*, even when they were in *Arms* and ready to fight for him: *One* that is a Stranger, I say, to our Laws and Constitution, has liv'd all his Time under Arbitrary Governments, and whenever he comes, comes from *Rome*, the Mother of *Cruelty* and all *Superstition*, encumber'd with Wants, inflam'd with angry Resentments, attended with long Trains of Priests and Jesuits, and an innumerable *Band* of *hungry* and *revengeful Courtiers*, that will sweep away all, and leave you nothing, but to bemoan yourselves, and lament the Madness of your Choice.

Remember this, therefore, and shew yourselves Men. For while you are thus desirous of Ruine and Destruction, thus Prodigal of your Civil Rights and Domestic Comforts, thus fond of Prisons and Confinements, of Axes and Halters, for a
mere

mere Whim, and *Romantick* Notion, you quite *unman* yourselves, and forfeit your Pretensions to the prime Essentials of *Humanity*, and *Caution*, and *Thought*, and *Self-preservation*. Cast your Eyes around, and see; Have any of the Princes of *Europe* espous'd the Cause, that you are so in Love with? Nay, are they not all, most of them at least, in Leagues and Confederacies against it? Its only Support, are a few *desperate* Men, *press'd* into it by Necessity, and ready to *desert* upon the first Occasion. All that have any Love or Consideration of their own Safety, have left it; and those that remain, want but an Intimation of Indemnity, to return; so that, its whole Reliance seems to be upon Providence; and Providence, so far as we can judge of it from Events, has declar'd visibly against it. War is certainly an Appeal to God; and yet, when two Rival Armies were disputing the Title of these Kingdoms, On whose Side did the Decision fall? Who has discover'd since, the Murtherous Designs against the King's most sacred Life? Who has brought to Light this last Conspiracy to depose Him, and enthrone the *Pretender*? Who, in short, has prosper'd him in all his Undertakings, both publick and private; made not only all Opposition fall before him, but the very *Weather* favour his Journeys, and the *Winds* and *Waves* attend on his Designs? If these, Things

Things, I say, are Demonstrations of Providence, attesting the Justness of a Cause, they are then so many Calls and Admonitions from Heaven to *Honour and Obey the King, and not meddle with such as are given to Change* ‡, lest, happily, we be found not only studying our own Ruine, but *Fighting against God*. If Sinners therefore *intice* you, (for I come now to close all in the Words of one of the wisest Men that ever was, and with this small Variation, may say) *If Rebels intice you, consent not to them: If they say, "come with us, let us lay wait for Blood: Let us lurk privily for the Innocent, without a Cause": Let us swallow them up alive, as the Grave, and whole, as those that go down to the Pit. We shall find all precious Substance: We shall fill our Houses with Spoil: Cast in your Lot among us: Let us all have one Purse. Walk not ye in the Way with them: Refrain your Feet from their Paths; for their Calamity shall rise suddenly* †: "The Face of Justice, of angry Justice, shall be against them, and the Lamp of the Wicked shall be put out. ‡"

APPEN-

‡ Prov. 24. 21.

* Ib. chap. I, v. 10.

† Prov. 24. 22.

‡ Ib. v. 20.



APPENDIX.

T H E P R O T E S T S

O F T H E

House of LORDS,

In Relation to a BILL depending against

F R A N C I S,

Lord Bp. of R O C H E S T E R.

Die Mercurii, 15 Maii 1723.



O D I E *tertia vice lecta est*
Billa, entitled, An Act to inflict
Pains and Penalties on *Francis*,
Lord Bishop of *Rochester*.

The Question was put whether this Bill
shall pass ?

It

It was resolv'd in the Affirmative.

Content - - - - 83.

Not Content - 43.

Dissentient.

I. Because the Objection, which we thought lay against the Bills of *Plunket* and *Kelly*, that the Commons were thereby, in Effect, let into an equal Share of Judicature with the Lords, does hold stronger, as we apprehend, against the present Bill; since by Means of it, a Lord of Parliament is in Part try'd and adjudg'd to Punishment in the House of Commons, and reduc'd to a Necessity, either of letting his Accusation pass undefended in that House, or of appearing there; and, as we take it, derogating from his own Honour, and that of the Lords in general, by answering or making his Defence in the Lower House of Parliament.

II. Because we are of Opinion, that the Commons wou'd be very far from yielding to the Lords, any Part of those Powers and Privileges, which are properly theirs by the Constitution, in any Form, or under any Pretext whatsoever; and it seems to us full as reasonable, that the Lords should be as Tenacious of the Rights and Privileges which remain to them, as the Commons are on their Part.

III. We

III. We think this Bill against a Lord of Parliament, taking its Rise in the House of Commons, ought the rather not to have receiv'd any Countenance in this House ; for that as it appear'd to us by the printed Votes of the House of Commons, that House had voted the Bishop guilty of all the Matters alledg'd against him in the Bill, before the Bill was brought into that House, and consequently, before the Bishop had any Opportunity of being heard ; and altho' there be nothing absurd in passing such a Vote, in order to their accusing by an Impeachment, yet it seems to us absolutely contrary to Justice, which ought to be unprejudic'd, to vote any one guilty, against whom they design to proceed in their Legislative Capacity, or in the Nature of Judges, before the Party has an Opportunity to be heard ; or the Bill, which is to ascertain the Accusation, is so much as brought in.

IV. We are of Opinion, that no Law ought to be pass'd on purpose to enact, that any one be guilty in Law, and punish'd as such, but where such an extraordinary Proceeding is evidently necessary for the Preservation of the State ; whereas the Crime offer'd to be prov'd against the Bishop of *Rocheſter* is, as we apprehend, his partaking in a traiterous Conspiracy against the Government, which Conspiracy, by God's Blessing,

is detected, and, as we hope, disappointed, without the Aid of such a dangerous Proceeding, as we conceive this to be.

V. Because there are certain known and establish'd Rules of Evidence, which are part of the Law of the Land, either introduc'd by Act of Parliament, or fram'd by Reason, and the Experience of Ages, adjusted as well for the Defence of the Life, Liberty, and Property of the Innocent Subject, as the Punishment of the Guilty; and therefore these Rules are, or ought to be, constantly adher'd to, in all Courts of Justice; and, as we conceive, should be also observ'd till alter'd by Law in both Houses of Parliament, whenever they try, judge, and punish the Subject, tho' in their Legislative Capacity; but since in many Instances in this, and two other Proceedings by Bill, * we have been taught by the Opinion of the House, that these Rules of Evidence need not to be observ'd by the Houses acting in their Legislative Capacity, we clearly take it to be a very strong Objection to this Manner of Proceeding, that Rules of Law made for the Security of the Subject, are of no Use to him in it, and that the Conclusion is very strong, that therefore it ought not to be taken up, but where clearly necessary, as before affirm'd; and we desire to explain ourselves

* *Against Plunket and Kelly.*

selves so far upon the Cases of Necessity excepted, as to say we do not intend to include a Necessity arising purely from an Impossibility of convicting any other Way.

VI. If it be admitted, that traiterous Correspondence in Cyphers, and Cant Words, may, to a Degree, be discourag'd by this Sort of Proceeding, in which Persons, as we think, are convicted on a more uncertain Evidence than the known Rules of Law admit of, yet, we are of Opinion, That Convenience will be much more, than outweigh'd by the Jealousy it must of necessity, as we conceive, create in the Minds of many of his Majesty's most faithful Subjects, that their Lives, Liberties, and Properties, are not so safe, after such repeated Examples as they were before, and by the natural Consequence of this Apprehension, an Abatement of their Zeal for the Government may ensue, excepting such Persons as have more than ordinary Opportunities of being well instructed in Principles of the utmost Duty and Loyalty.

VII. We cannot be for the passing this Bill, because the Evidence produc'd to make Good the Recital of it, or that the Lord Bishop of *Rocheſter* is guilty of the Matter, he therein stands accus'd of, is, in our Opinions, greatly defective and insufficient, both in Law and Reason, to prove that Charge,

the Evidence consisting altogether, to the best of our Observation, in Conjectures arising from Circumstances in the Interceptors, or on a Comparison of Hand Writings, resting on Memory only ; and there being, as we think, no Proof of the Bishop's knowing of, or being privy to any of the said Correspondence ; and as to the principal Part of the Charge against the Bishop, and on which, as we think, all the rest does depend, *viz.* the dictating the Letters of the 20th of *April*, 1722, which the House of Lords seem'd to have determin'd that *Kelly* wrote ; we are of Opinion, that the Bishop has, in his Defence, very clearly and fully prov'd, that he did not, nor possibly could dictate those Letters, or the Substance of any Part of them to *Kelly*, either on the Day of their Date, or at any Time during several Days next before, or next after the Day of their Date, nor was in any Capacity to write them himself, tho' the Letters must have been wrote within that Compass of Time ; And we are, on the whole, of Opinion, that the Proof and Probability of the Lord Bishop of *Rochester's* Innocence in the Matters he stood charg'd with, were much stronger than those of his Guilt,

Strafford,

Strafford,
Bruce,
Poulet,
Dartmouth
Craven,
Hay,
Bathurst,
Gowder,
Weston,
Exeter,
Willoughby, Br.
Cowper,
Bingley,
Scarsdale,
Salisbury,
Montjoy,
Cardigan,
Anglesey,
Foley,
Osborne,

Uxbridge,
Arundel,
Guilford,
Middleton,
Hereford,
Stazwell,
Denbigh,
Northampton,
Fr. Cestriens,
Litchfield,
Asburnham,
Trevor,
Compton,
Masbam,
Berkley Strat.
Pomfret,
Brooke,
Oxford
and
Mortimer.

I Dissent for the 6th and 7th Reasons of
 the foregoing Protestation, and for the fol-
 lowing Reasons :

I. Because this extraordinary Method of
 Proceeding by Bills of this Nature, against
 Persons who do not withdraw from Justice,
 but are willing to undergo a legal Tryal,
 ought, in my Opinion, to be supported by
 clear and convincing Evidence ; and I ap-
 prehend

prehend there has been nothing offer'd to support the Allegations set forth in the Preamble of the Bill, to inflict Pains and Penalties on *Francis* Lord Bishop of *Rocheſter*, but what depends upon decypher'd Letters, forc'd Conſtructions, and improbable Inuendo's.

II. I conceive, that the Examination of *Philip Neynoe*, taken before the Lords of the Council, not ſworn to or ſigned, which appears to me to be the Foundation on which the Charge againſt the Biſhop of *Rocheſter* is built, has been, in my Apprehenſion, ſufficiently prov'd by the poſitive Oaths of three Perſons, two of which have been for ſeveral Months in ſeparate Cuſtodies, confirm'd by other Circumſtances, to have been a falſe and malicious Contrivance of the ſaid *Neynoe*, to ſave himſelf from the Hands of Juſtice, and to work the Deſtruction of the Biſhop of *Rocheſter*.

III. I do apprehend, that the Letters of the 20th of *April*, which are ſuggeſted to be wrote by *George Kelly*, aliàs *Johnſon*, and dictated by the Biſhop, have not been ſufficiently prov'd to be the Hand-writing of the ſaid *Kelly*: But on the contrary, it appears, to the beſt of my Judgment, that the Letter of the 20th of *Auguſt*, (ſtopp'd at the Poſt-Office, and from which the Clerks of the
Poſt-

Post-Office, on their Memory only, swear; they believe the said Letters of the 20th of *April*, to be the same Hand-writing, tho' they never compar'd two original Letters together during all that Time) has been prov'd by three credible Witnesses, concurring in every Circumstance of their Testimony, and well acquainted with the Hand-writing of the said *Kelly*, not to be his Hand-writing: And I conceive, that the Difference they have observ'd in the Hand of the said *Kelly*, upon which they ground their Opinions, is sufficiently supported, by comparing the said Letters of the 20th of *August*, with the Letters wrote by the said *Kelly* to the Lord *Townshend* and Mr. *De la Faye*, during the Time of his Confinement.

IV. I do not apprehend, that any Proof has been offer'd to support what has been so much insisted on, and justly esteem'd Essential to the Charge, that the Bishop of *Rochester* dictated the Letters of the 20th of *April*; but it has appear'd, I conceive, that there has been no Intimacy between the Bishop and the said *Kelly*; and the Testimony of the Bishop's Servants concurring with the Evidence given on that Head by the Persons, that *Kelly* liv'd in the strictest Correspondency, which leaves, to the best of my Judgment, no Room to doubt, but that the Acquaintance

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publick; and to suggest from thence, that
the Bishop dictated the Letters of the 20th of
April, when it appear'd, that for many Days
before, he could not possibly see the said *Kel-
ly*, is, in my Opinion, repugnant to Reason,
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